

FREE POLAND

A SEMI-MONTHLY

The Truth About Poland and Her People

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The Rev. Geo. H. Mueller's Reply to Dr. Wistein

(Free Poland, being neutral, represents a ground upon which the various opinions can be freely expressed. In that spirit the Rev. G. H. Mueller's letter is published herewith. Poland has no interest in the quarrels of Russia and Germany save that of her own freedom.)

Dr. R. Wistein
care of Editor of Free Poland.

Dear Sir:—

A copy of "Free Poland" of the 18th of December has just come under my eyes and I have read your article in it.

In it you make several glaring statements to which I would call your attention.

You say that "the Germans are trying in every possible way to gain the sympathies of the American people..... We feel that if a cause is just and right it requires no excuses or special explanations."

This would be true if other things were equal. In the first place the Germans are not seeking the sympathies of the American people by your means or otherwise as you imply. All they ask is justice. The English have through a thousand lies tried to poison the minds of the American public in order to prejudice them against the Germans. And all that the Germans are seeking to do is to counteract these lies by setting actual facts before them.

In the very next paragraph you say after lauding barbarous Russia that Germany always seized land from its neighbors when that neighbor was least able to defend the seizure; from Denmark it took Schleswig-Holstein, from France Alsace-Lorraine; from Austria Silesia.

This is certainly a wholesale accusation, and you imply at least that Germany robbed their neighbors. If you do not mean to imply this you ought to qualify your statement. For in at least one of them your unqualified statement is not true. I mean with reference to Schleswig-Holstein. These provinces were in the hands of the Danes in the '60's of the last centuries, it is true. But that does

not prove that Denmark had any right to them or that they were Danish. As a matter of fact they were not Danish. You need go back only about 20 years before that date 1848, '49, '50, '51 and you will learn that the people made an heroic effort to throw off the Danish yoke because they were German. I know whereof I speak for my father was among those who then fought against the Danes, and during the years that followed until the Prussians and Austrians drove the Danes northward those provinces always continued German in feeling, in thought, in language. They welcomed Prussia and Austria and were happy to be once more in the company where they belonged. In taking possession of those provinces, then, Germany did not seize any land from its neighbors as you assert. And you would oblige me to make as public a retraction of what you said as you have publicly insulted my nation in your wholesale accusation.

Yours truly,

GEO. H. MUELLER,
Rector, Trinity Church, Hamilton, O.

Poland's Fate a Lesson for Ireland

(An extract from the Rev. Canon James Owen Hannay's article in the *Chicago Examiner*, March 15, 1915.)

UNDER German dominion Ireland would be much worse off than she was at any period under English control. If England chastised her with a whip, Germany would sting her with a scorpion. If Germany squashed England, Ireland would then know what oppression really means. Consider for a moment the methods Germany applied to Poland. Germans formed colonization schemes to expatriate the Polish from the land that had been theirs for centuries and people it with Germans. They have applied all sorts of repressive and obnoxious methods in the treatment of their Polish subject.

If Germany has been harsh with Poland, what reason would Ireland have for receiving better treatment? None whatever, in my opinion. No, indeed, Ireland would gain nothing from a German victory, but would lose much. And, as I stated above, most Irishmen appreciate this fact very well, and with all their hearts hope earnestly for the ultimate success of the Allies.



Alliance or Entente?

FOR whose success does the Polish nation hope? No one person has been delegated to give a categorical answer to such question. The answer must not be sought in the expressions of individuals proclaiming themselves to be leaders, or in the pronouncements of bodies politic or military which owe their origin or existence to opinion-moulding foreign influences. The answer must be read in the trend of the Polish nation as it manifests itself and is reflected in the independent press of the whole world, in which the opinion of the great majority of the Polish nation, abroad and here, finds untrammelled expression. The most striking feature of such expression is the unanimity of opinion that a purely Polish policy should be applied to all projects concerning the restoration of Polish government and that all other or foreign policies should be regarded as a means to an end.

It is self-evident that such restoration can only be brought about through the intervention of a foreign power. At the outbreak of this war, when the rapidity of events did not permit of a crystallization of Polish opinion, it was but natural that the same diverged into various channels. Some expressed a great deal of sympathy and even enthusiasm for Austria; others again saw a ray of hope that the power of German sympathy would overcome Prussia's policy of persecution and that the end of the war would behold Prussia ready to yield the stolen territory and to concede autonomy. Still others, and these in the great majority, believed, that with Russia alone rested the ultimate hope of Poland's success.

But all through the nation there was advocated a policy of restraint, lest too free expressions of the Poles in one domain bring forth reprisals upon their brethren in another.

With the development of the war occurred events which formulated, and now have firmly established, a Polish policy that has been accepted and will be adhered to by the great majority of the Polish nation, no matter what the ultimate outcome of the war.

That there should have been, and, to a certain extent, that their still exists a divergence of opinion among the Poles is but natural. Four generations of the Polish nation have borne the yoke of three oppressors. It is to be expected that in some instances the oppressed yield with an instinct of self-preservation when pressure is exerted at a point where the yoke is most galling.

The briefest kind of a historical resume is here necessary for the guidance of the reader.

When Poland was at the height of her power in the 16th and 17 centuries, when her boundaries reached from beyond the Dniepr to the Oder, from the Baltic to the Black Sea, when her provident generosity had created an independent Prussia, when her territory was greater than

the combined domains of France and Germany of to-day, greater, in fact, than any other territory except that of Russia; when her army was more powerful than any other in Europe, when the Holy Roman Empire of German Nationality saw its only salvation in the invincible sword of King John Sobieski, whom the German emperor Leopold begged to save civilization, (he probably said: "Kultur") Poland not once unsheathed her sword in a war of aggression of conquest. Not once. Please keep that in mind, for history does not emphasize this point. But when constant defensive warfare from without against invasion and dissensions from within had weakened the mighty republic, when the inborn predatory instincts of Prussia's Frederic and Russia's Catherine had been stimulated and had brought about Poland's first partition in 1772, the historical apologists for Prussia, Russia and Austria took great pains to represent to the world that the turbulent and chaotic condition of Poland made such a step a "military necessity," as Bernhardt would say,—for the tranquility of surrounding powers.

No end is served by minimizing Poland's faults. The usurpation of power by the nobility, the utter exclusion of popular representation, the abject condition of serfdom, the positively criminal privilege of the liberum veto of the ruling class, the undignified barter of the Polish crown, the standing armies of Polish nobles, the stagnation of economic conditions,—all, all of that is true and not to be denied. The terrific blow of the first partition brought the staggering nation to a full realization of the danger. If national faults had contributed to the nation's downfall, her patriotic sons would find a remedy.

The first partition was followed by nearly twenty years of reconstruction and revival, culminating in the adoption of the admirable constitution of May 3rd, 1791, which was the first constitution in the history of civilization abolishing serfdom and the privileges of nobility without the shedding of one drop of blood. A standing army was created, the crown descended by heredity, the liberum veto was forever abolished and the government was patterned largely upon that of France. The new constitution elicited the admiration of European statesmen; the friends of Poland saw the dawn of a new and promising national era. The enemies saw it, too, Russia and Prussia lost no time in sending their armies to invade Poland and to crush the new national life. A second and third partition followed and then the end,—after a valiant but vain resistance.

The object, in thus briefly recounting historical events which every public school graduate should know, is, to show that the Polish nation immediately after the first partition had demonstrated to the world her capacity for self-government and that the historical explanations about anarchic conditions in Poland and the danger to the surrounding powers are absolutely untenable, the

flimsiest of pretense, a cloak designed by the guilty powers to cover their dastardly deed.

Except for a brief period or rearrangement during the Napoleonic wars and after the Congress of Vienna (1815) a great nation, against her most violent protests, had been torn asunder; her territory, her treasures her people divided like gun men divide their plunder—a successful hold-up.

Could such a course, aggravated by the relentless persecution of a century, engender aught but hatred in the oppressed people?

Limitation of space does not permit a detailed enumeration of the various policies adopted by Russia and Prussia toward the Poles. Austria should not be included in the same category. With the exception of the massacre of Polish nobles by the Polish peasantry, incited by Austria in the Forties, no physical or moral persecution of the Poles is to be charged against Austria.

expense of the legionaries and sent into Russian territory. Some of the names then connected with the formation of Polish legions were well known and respected. However, it soon became evident that these legions were an absolute detriment to the Polish cause. They were intended by the Austria and German authorities for purposes foreign or inimical to the Poles, they were not recognized as belligerents by Russia. When the revolution among the Poles in Russia to be fermented by the Poles in Austria, failed to materialize, when the Polish legions began to realize that they were used for Prussian service and were being abandoned by the Austrian military authorities, the legions began to dissolve and they are practically out of existence now. But much more important than the fate of the legions has been the lesson gained from the experience: no matter how willing Austria might be to further the Polish cause, she cannot and will not be permitted by Prussia to do. Prus-



A Cartoon Representing the Partition of Polish Territory between Russia, Prussia, and Austria in 1772—on the right are Frederick The Great of Prussia and Joseph II of Austria; on the left sits Catherine the Great of Russia, and beside Her is Stanislaus Augustus, the Last King of Independent Poland.

Much to Prussia's chagrin, the Poles of Galicia have played a very important role in Austria's affairs. Austria has had two Polish premiers: Badeni and Goluchowski. Habsburgs, Radziwills and Czartoryskis are intermarried; the late Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the unfortunate immediate cause of this terrible war, was educated by a fervent Polish patriot, Count Wadwicki. Politically and socially the Poles were an important factor in Vienna and Lwów and the Polish intellectual life found a free development within the Austrian domain. Despite the deplorable economic conditions in Galicia, where everything is taxed to the utmost for the benefit of Austria, there is a great deal of truly loyal devotion for the venerable and unfortunate emperor Francis among his Polish subjects. The devotion is largely a personal one, it is a life estate in Emperor Francis, with no remainder over. At the outbreak of this war Polish legions were formed, uniformed and maintained at the

expense of the legionaries and sent into Russian territory. Some of the names then connected with the formation of Polish legions were well known and respected. However, it soon became evident that these legions were an absolute detriment to the Polish cause. They were intended by the Austria and German authorities for purposes foreign or inimical to the Poles, they were not recognized as belligerents by Russia. When the revolution among the Poles in Russia to be fermented by the Poles in Austria, failed to materialize, when the Polish legions began to realize that they were used for Prussian service and were being abandoned by the Austrian military authorities, the legions began to dissolve and they are practically out of existence now. But much more important than the fate of the legions has been the lesson gained from the experience: no matter how willing Austria might be to further the Polish cause, she cannot and will not be permitted by Prussia to do. Prus-

sia will never yield one foot of her Polish territory, it would cripple her Kingdom beyond recognition. The productive wealth of Western Prussia, Posen, the millions expended in the vain attempt at the Prussification of these provinces and Prussian pride and rapacity will never permit this act of atonement for a crime which Prussia arrogantly disclaims. Prussian policy towards the Poles was conceived in crime, born in crime, nurtured and raised in crime until it has permeated the very blood of every Prussian, military and civilian, so that he radiates with hatred toward the Poles. And be it remembered that for about a century the Poles have contributed to Prussia's wealth, have paid taxes, obeyed laws that were devised with diabolical ingenuity for the oppression of an unfortunate people. But above all, let it be remembered that in the wars of 1866, 1870-1871 and in the present war, fought and being carried on for the aggrandizement of Prussia, a million Poles, subject

to military service in Prussia, have valiantly fought and are now pouring out their life's blood for Prussia, their persecutor, standing in the front ranks of the eastern battlefields, arrayed against their very brethren in the Russian army on the soil of Poland. And those are the sons of Drzymalas whom Prussian laws forbid to own the soil on which they and their progenitors were born, whom Prussian laws compel to move from place to place in a house built on wheels because they may not erect permanent dwellings. Those are the fathers and brothers of little ones who have been beaten unto death because they refused to pray to their God in the German language. Those are the men whom Prussia punished with imprisonment for speaking the language of their forefathers at their meetings or for teaching it to their children. Does the record of the world's history contain a parallel of such bestial brutality?

Just now, while the sons are fighting for the Kaiser, the fathers need not fear eviction from the soil; just now the little ones may lisp their prayers to the Heavenly Father in the Polish language while the lifeless eyes of their terrestrial fathers are fixed with the stare of death upon the sky above the blood-drenched, war-trodden soil of unfortunate Poland.

But already Prussia has decreed authoritatively that there shall be no Poland; that an independent Polish state would be to Prussia a menace that must not be permitted to exist. And Prussian policy dominates Germany and Austria.

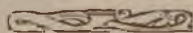
What hopes, then, for the independence of the Polish nation, can the wildest dreams conjecture from a success of the armies of Germany and Austria?

Were we to take Russia's policy of the past as a guarantee for the future independence of Poland, we would be building upon sand. But there is abundant proof at hand that this war has already ended Russia's

inimical attitude toward Poland. Russia has made an official declaration for Polish autonomy; Germany and Austria have not. The Russian people are Slavonic and in sympathy with the Polish nation. Pole and Prussian will never blend, they are racially antagonistic. There would have to be a revulsion of the laws of nature to establish a bond of sympathy between them. The Poles will not easily forget the terrible reprisals of the Russian government after each Polish revolution, the cruel persecutions of a century. But the Russian people have not approved of them and the Poles also remember that in the course of the last ten years, on at least two occasions when the Russian government was about to begin a conciliatory policy toward the Poles with a view of ultimate Polish autonomy, emperor William gave emphatic notice to his great and good friend czar Nicholas that any such step would be considered as a most unfriendly measure toward Prussia and, therefore, as a *casus belli*. But conditions have changed now, partners in crime have become enemies in war.

For Russia it has become policy to have a buffer state at the western frontier. Russia has declared herself to be contending for the freedom of smaller Slavonic nations. She is in honor bound to her promises. But her promises having been broken before in her relation toward Poland, the Poles have the positive assurance, that France and England will hold Russia to her promise, which is the more certain of fulfillment as Russia alone would not likely be successful against a Germany unembarrassed at her western and northern boundaries. Russia controls the largest part of partitioned Poland and after all is said and done, between the Pan-Slavism of Russia and the *Alldeutschthum* of Germany there is only one prospect that leads toward an autonomous and independent Poland: the success of the Allies.

CASIMIR GONSKI.



Poles Well Treated by Austria


Polish hopes of nationality cluster around Galicia. This is the only section where the Poles are still allowed to develop and rule themselves with very little interference from the governing power. It is the only portion of the old commonwealth where the Poles can breathe freely, speak their own language without fear, and openly educate their children in the beloved tongue. The Poles do practically as they desire, so long as they render the military service demanded of them, and pay the taxes assessed. Austria does nothing to try to stamp out the Polish language or customs as do her neighbors, Russia and Germany, with their Polish population. Warsaw merchants are obliged to employ at least one Russian clerk. Germany will not forward letters bearing Polish titles. As a consequence a real affection has grown up among the Poles for the aged Franz Joseph.

Literature of all kinds flourishes, and newspapers are

practically untrammelled. Books directed against the government itself are sold openly in the book stores of Cracow. It may be said, however, that the old spirit or individualism shows in the press, as many of the columns are given up to the personal squabbles between nobles and other leading families. Schools are not interfered with in any way, and letters may contain Polish titles, which is forbidden both in Prussia and Russia. There is absolutely no effort on the part of the Austrian government to make life unpleasant for the Poles, and they are officially recognized as such. She has recently given up the Wawel, which had been used for a long time as a military garrison, in order that the Poles may preserve this as a memorial of their old life. Taxes are fairly high as they are in all parts of Austria, for the revenue required to support the military and the royal family of that country is very large.—From *Poland of Today and Yesterday*, by Nevin O. Winter.

Russia's Promise To Poland

THE IDEAL OF THE ALLIES.

E take up our secular mission again. As was said at the beginning of the war that liberated the North of Italy: "When France draws her sword, it is not for domination, but to emancipate."

"The Allies are fighting for the oppressed: Alsace-Lorraine, Schleswig-Holstein, Trent and Trieste, Bosnia, Herzogowina, Transylvania, Poland. After their victory, humanity must develop itself by a union of the different races, by fostering national aspirations, by respect for accumulated treasures of Art and Science; no oppressed nation, no violence, no military caste must exist."

Mr. Appell's speech (Annual Sitting 1914 of the French Institute.)

"We are united for the defence of liberty in Europe and for the defence of oppressed nationalities..."

Speech of Mr. Cambon, ambassador of France in London.

"We have not drawn the sword without mature consideration, nor will we sheathe it again until the rights of the small nations are established on unassailable bases."

Speech of Mr. Asquith, Prime Minister of England. (Guildhall, September 4.)

"We desire that this war shall recast the map of Europe on the principle of nationalities and in accord with the real aspirations of the populations."

From Speech (at Liverpool) of Mr. W. Churchill, Lord of Admiralty.

"We want this war to reform the geography of Europe according to national principles, we want liberty of the races, the integrity of nations and the diminution of armaments."

From Speech of Mr. W. Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty.

FOR A LASTING PEACE.

In his message to Italy, the King of Montenegro said: "This terrible European war, if stripped of all diplomatic ornaments with which the chancelleries adorn it, dates back a century; it is, let us hope, the final revolt of oppressed nations due to the unjust act of the Congress of Vienna."

By the scenes of slaughter by the number of victims, by the sum total of unrestrained cruelties, and by the irreparable ruins and accumulated miseries, the war of 1914 has already surpassed all that history tells us.

The best known peace advocates, like Mr. d'Etournelles de Constant, on the one hand, and Mr. Vandervelde, on the other, agree that this war must be waged until the complete crushing of Prussian militarism, in the interest of Europe and civilization. Mr. Vandervelde considers "this actual war as a war against war itself."

The future Congress must then try to reduce, by every means, to the minimum, the pretexts for a new struggle, for a new war which would certainly be still worse than the one Europe is witnessing now. This Congress will have to weight and consider many very complicated and very complex problems, and from their so-

lution a lasting peace must result. For this reason, public opinion must study beforehand in each allied country, the principal questions to be discussed. It would be a great mistake to abandon to the delegates of these countries the whole responsibility and enormous work required for the solution of these questions. The Albanian difficulties must in this respect, be a lesson to us, and teach us that in spite of their undeniable intelligence, the best representatives of the great Powers can commit grievous mistakes and sometimes irreparable ones.

The first cause of the actual war is economical, the second political.

The development of German industry and trade, which really dates from 1870, has brought each day a greater tension in Germany's relations with certain other Powers.

Every one knows what impulse Germany has given to her trade and industry. She has created wonderful canals, ports, roads and railways; she has created outlets everywhere; she has striven to found a colonial empire and she has considerably enlarged the field of her maritime trade. Enclosed within her too narrow limits, she has on account of the rapid increase of her population, which has reached 68 millions of inhabitants, tried to creep into less populated countries or into countries insufficiently guarded by economical barriers.

But if we can theoretically admit the possibility of a pacific conquest of new outlets for products of a flourishing industry, history teaches us that economical penetration is unavoidably followed by a political domination and complete annexation of the weaker countries.

The progressive invasion of all the world's markets did not sufficiently satisfy the immoderate ambitions of Germany. She sought above all political supremacy, founded on the conquest of new colonies: hence her continual armaments and her militarism. Her aims of political expansion were obstructed by France, England and Russia; she always found them to take advantage of the Serbo-Austrian conflict to crush Russia, then France and later on to attack England, when her own fleet would have been strong enough to destroy that of the United Kingdom.

To France's enormous strength, both moral and material, Germany will succumb in the present struggle. But it would be childish to presume that a nation, in full economical power and with a population of nearly a hundred million of inhabitants, will submit to the conditions of her conquerors. Immediately after her defeat, Germany will prepare for a new war and work to disunite those, who are now in coalition against her. The Russo-Japanese war shows us that the enemies of today may become the allies of tomorrow. One must not suppose that ten or fifteen years hence, when Germany will be ready for a new attack, she will find all the present Allies facing her. One must therefore carefully consider the prospects of a future war and strive to delay it as long as possible by removing with the greatest energy everything that is liable to produce such a disaster.

If the real reason of the actual war is economical, the reasons that have unchained it must find their origin in the injustice weighing upon Europe since the treaty of Vienna, as the King of Montenegro so well expressed it. This artificial and unjust act, was for a century, the basis

for diplomatic intrigues, which in due course of time ended in an armed conflict.

It is quite true that consequent on the wars for the independence and unification of Italy, as well as the Russo-Turkish and Balkan wars, the yokes borne by numerous nationalities have partially been broken. Unfortunately there remain people conscious of their nationality and laws, who are subjected to the brutal strength of the conqueror of former times.

If the independence and liberty of each nationality were assured, the tension existing between the great Powers would be loosened and the numerous pretexts for new conflicts eliminated. By giving real liberty to the oppressed people, the great Powers would thus otherwise be dragged against their will. The general interests are at stake, **THE POINT IS TO SECURE A LASTING PEACE.**

England's great statesmen have already plainly proclaimed that the future drawing up of the map of Europe will be based on the complete freedom of oppressed nations. Therefore, it will be necessary to know the ex-

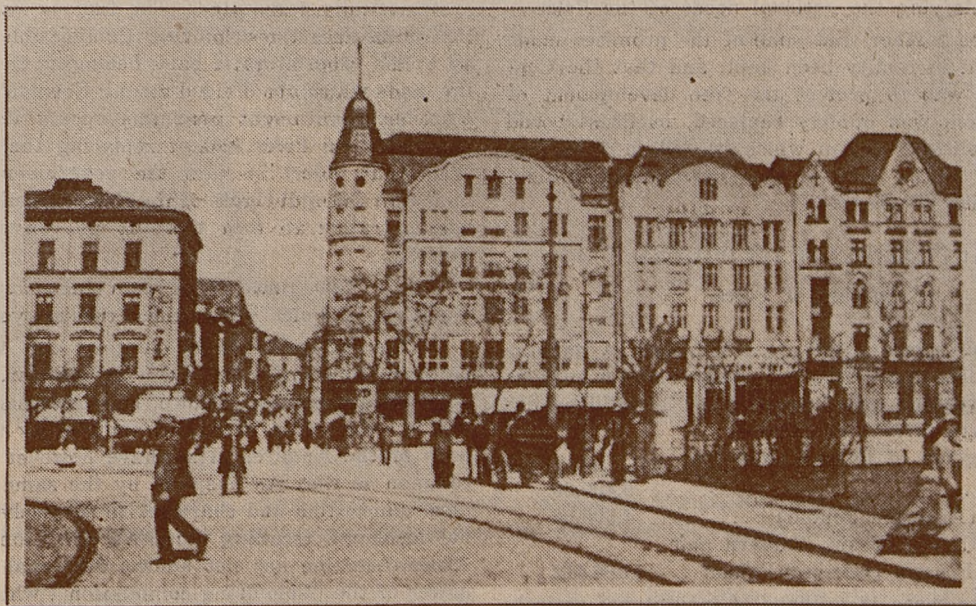
ancient Kingdom of Poland have been chiefly caused by her geographical position.

Notwithstanding her power and her glorious past, Poland was not able at the end of the 18th century to resist her three neighbors because her vital forces were exhausted by her territorial and almost boundless expansion.

At one time Poland stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and her eastern limits were not far from Moscow.

Poland still occupied in Europe at the end of the 18th century, the largest territory after Russia. For centuries she met no obstruction, especially in the East, to the progressive annexation of enormous regions, so that her extension was no longer in proportion to her population and her real power. This immoderate decentralization brought, on the one hand, the weakening of the central power, and on the other hand, the decrease of national energy. All other reasons given as an explanation of the Kingdom of Poland's decadence are but secondary.

One must seek the real causes of Poland's decadence



Halicki Square, Lemberg (Lwów), Capital of Galicia (Austrian Poland), was occupied Early in September By the Russians.

act situation of the different countries which will come under discussion at the next congress.

In a question of such an importance for Europe's future, nothing must be left open to possible discussions, machinations and intrigues, as happened in 1815, at the Congress of Vienna. These questions ought to be studied beforehand and with the greatest care.

One nation, which is waiting for a long time for her liberation, is the Polish people. The Poles have had the strength to resist all the policies of extermination to which they were subjected by the German and Russian governments.

We shall sum up the principal facts concerning the history and actual situation of the Polish question, so as to see their practical consequences.

1) SUCCESSIVE PARTITION OF POLAND.

The progressive weakening and disappearance of the

either in the absence of natural frontiers or of sufficiently powerful neighbors, who could have obliged her to concentrate herself within the limits corresponding to her population.

At the time of her first division in 1772, Poland was composed of the Kingdom of Poland, properly so called and the great Dukedom of Lithuania.

The Kingdom of Poland included in the north Great Poland in the basin of the Warthe; the cities of Posen and Gnesen, Little Poland, with Cracow and Warsaw, Royal Prussia with Danzig; in the South, Galicia called also "Red Russia"; and in the South-East the province of White Russia.

The first dismemberment of Poland took place in 1772. Austria seized upon all Red Russia; Prussia took Royal Prussia, except the towns of Danzig and Thorn; Russia took a part of Lithuania.

At the second dismemberment in 1793, Prussia annexed Great Poland with Danzig and Thorn, Russia the

half of Lithuania, Austria engaged at the time in a war with France, received no share.

At the third division (1795) Prussia claimed the central part of Poland with the town of Warsaw, Austria occupied the country of Cracow, Russia took the remainder of Lithuania.

In 1807, at the treaty of Tilsit, Napoleon I took from Prussia her part of Poland, and created the **DUKEDOM OF WARSAW**. Danzig then became a free town.

As the treaty of Vienna (1809), Galicia was joined to the Dukedom of Warsaw.

The Congress of Vienna (1815) left:

1. to Russia, all she took at the time of the three divisions of Poland, adding to that the district of Bialystok.

2. To Austria, Galicia.

3. To Prussia, the provinces she already possessed, adding to them the town of Danzig and the provinces of Posen and Bydgoszcz (Bromberg).

Cracow became a free town and formed a Republic under the protectorship of Russia, Austria and Prussia.

The Congress enjoined the three Powers to grant a Constitution satisfying the national needs of the Poles.

We shall see further that none of the promises made to the Poles had in reality been kept, and that the Constitution which was to protect the free development of the Polish nation, was quickly replaced, in Prussia and Russia, by a political system which is still in force, the object of which is the more or less brutal denationalization of the Polish people.

2) ACTUAL STATE OF POLAND.

a) Number of Poles.

In the whole world there are more than 24 millions of Poles. 18 millions are settled in Poland and 6 millions are scattered over the whole world. The 18 millions living in Poland are divided as follows:

In the Kingdom of Poland (Russian

Poland) 9,400,00

In Galicia (Austrian Poland) 4,500,00

In Posen, Upper Silesia, Eastern and

Western Prussia (German Poland ... 4,086,412

If we add to these 18 millions of inhabitants entirely Polish the 2 millions of Jews and the million of inhabitants who are not of Polish origin but settled on Polish soil, the Kingdom of Poland when reestablished will occupy the sixth place among the European States. Russia, Germany, England, France, Italy could only reckon a population greater than that of Poland.

b) POLITICAL SITUATION OF THE DIFFERENT PARTS OF POLAND.

In Austria.

Metternich's reactionary measures and later Bach's centralizing and Germanizing system ruined Galicia morally and economically.

This state of affairs ceased only when Austria after the defeats in the Italian war and after Sadowa, saw herself nearly ruined. She then granted a greater autonomy to the nations, belonging to the monarchy.

From this moment, the Poles living under Austria's domination acquired protection of the rights of their nationality. That is the reason at Lemberg all the State's functionaries are Poles and Ruthenians. In western Galicia

Polish is the official language; in eastern Galicia there are two official languages: Polish and Ruthenian. The Polish University of Cracow and the University of Lemberg, where Ruthenian Chairs have been created are the two Polish centres of learning, officially protected by the government of Vienna.

If one compares the concessions made to Poles in Russia and Prussia with their condition in Austria, we see that in Galicia they enjoy all constitutional and national liberties.

In Prussia.

Prussia failed in all the obligations contracted at the Congress of Vienna. The oppressive system that had begun immediately after the annexation by Prussia of the Polish provinces became quite intolerable with Bismarck inaugurating the Germanizing of Poles. All the resources of this State have been employed in the struggle against the Polish language. Poles employed in public works or in offices are not allowed to speak their language among themselves. All Polish associations and corporations are systematically persecuted. The famous law of expropriation authorizes the colonizing Commission to expropriate all Polish proprietors; a bank belonging to the State buys the lands which are divided among German peasants. The Prussian government proclaims openly its intentions of exterminating Poles and of replacing them by Germans. With that object in view the government limits to its minimum the civil rights of the Polish population by means administrative so that there is no constitution for the Poles.

In a few lines M. Piçhon has ably exposed the situation of Poles under the Prussian yoke:

"The regime imposed on the Alsace-Lorraine people and which will only end with the war, that is to say with their return to France, can be considered a gentle one in comparison with that endured by the Polish subjects of the Empire. They have however both points in common as they are inspired by the same idea of tyrannical annexation and characterize themselves by exceptional measures recalling Austria's dominion in Italy. But Alsace-Lorraine has not known the venal and autocratic power of the "Colonizing commission", which expels without any reason the inhabitants of Polish origin, replaces them by immigrants secures their houses with the interdiction of building others, destroys little by little all that constitutes their nationality.

"Only yesterday Mr. de Bethman's predecessor apologized for the proceeding of violent expropriation of which he found the tradition in the inheritance from Bismarck proceedings which his successor continued with as much cynicism and with as little success as he himself.

"It is surely a wager to promise Poles happiness and liberty in the name of a government that treats them like the knights of the Teutonic Orders of old, confiscating their properties, persecuting them, pursuing them, forbidding them to speak their own language, imposing its laws, its functionaries, its will on them and the arbitrary acts of its police. It would be difficult to treat them worse."

(Le Petit Journal, October 14—1914)

In Russian Poland.

Seignobos, professor at the Sorbonne, describes as follows the Kingdom of Poland's autonomy which Alexander I had promised:

"Alexander I in 1815 received a part of the ancient Poland, he made it a distinct State, the Kingdom of Poland, and he gave it a constitution. The new Kingdom again took the WHITE EAGLE and the flag of the ancient Poland, Polish was the language of the Government, of the administration and of the University. Poland kept all national institutions, her money, her postoffice, her customs, her schools, her Catholic Church recognized as the State Religion, her capital, Warsaw: official positions could be held only by Poles. The Polish army took an oath to the Constitution, crying out: 'God save our king Alexander'.

"Poland was united to the Empire of Russia, but the Czar ruled it as King. He was represented by a vice-roy who governed with a Council of State whose members

liberations; Poles took no more interest in it.

"On his accession to the throne, Nicolas swore to observe the Constitution, but the Diet was once assembled in 1830.

"Poles exasperated by this State of things were informed that the Czar thought of sending the Polish army to fight against the Belgian insurgents and replacing it in Poland by a Russian army. They decided to rise in insurrection. The war ended in the defeat of the Polish troops and the taking of Warsaw. Nicolas I destroyed the Kingdom of Poland by an ukase: 'Poland will now form a part of the Empire and must be one with Russia.' He also suppressed the Constitution of 1815, the Polish army, the Diet, and promised to leave the Poles only their religion and language, but this promise was not kept.



COPERNICUS (KOPERNIK) — Painting By Jan Matejko (1873).

Copernicus, in Polish Kopernik, (1473-1543) a Pole and a Celebrated Astronomer, who, in a Work published in 1543, promulgated the new received Theory that the Earth and the Planets revolve about the Sun.

were ministers. The nation was represented by a Diet formed by two Chambers: the House of Commons and the Senate.

"No State of Central Europe at that time enjoyed such a liberal political system. But the Constitution did not work long. The Grand Duke Constantine, the vice-roy was, like his father Paul I, violent, capricious, mad, passionate for the details of military life; he insulted generals for the details of military life; he insulted generals when they made a mistake in drilling; he wanted to introduce into the army the knout; he gave his troops such short coats and tight trousers that they could not move; he treated civilians like soldiers....

"Poles dissatisfied with Constantine's caprices, were alarmed by Alexander's declarations. In 1818 opening the Diet, which was convoked for the first time, the Czar recalled that it was assembled "only to give its opinion or the projects the government saw fit to submit to it.—At the second session (1820) the Diet having rejected a project, Alexander became so furious that he only summoned it in 1825; then he prohibited the publication of its de-

"A new insurrection took place thirty two years after the first one in 1863. The Russian government suppressed it without any pity, arrested and hanged a great number of insurgents and then worked with a view to destroying the Polish Nation."

(Seignobos—Contemporary History.)

The present Situation of the Poles under the Russian Government.

Fifty years after the repression of the last insurrection, the Russian government maintained its power and authority in Poland, but only by means of material terror and material oppression which it employed in 1864.

With the exception of communal assemblies terrorized by the heads of the Russian districts there is no local organ of local autonomy.

Poles are excluded from all functions and employments in administrations, courts of justice and schools. It is only in quite subordinate posts that they are still tolerated. To give an idea of their situation in connection

with the administration of the country, we will state the fact that a Pole cannot be a luggage-porter at a railway station.

Charitable boards, hospitals, theatres etc. are managed by Russians who are not competent in the matter.

The Polish language, prohibited in courts administrations, railway companies, economical and philanthropic associations is considered a crime against the State. Since the Japanese war, the Polish language is tolerated in private schools, but the diplomas granted to the pupils give them no right whatever. The Polish language is but a facultative matter in the secondary schools. It is excluded completely from the superior teaching of the State. No learned Pole can obtain a chair in any of these superior schools. So as to fill up the list of the University of Warsaw and superior schools, there are obliged to call upon those who have not succeeded in Russia. The official language, the Russian, in pursuance with the persecution of the Polish, becomes a matter of the hatred and aversion among all the classes of society; no Pole who respects himself enrolls himself in any of the Russian superior schools of Warsaw. The Polish students are obliged to expatriate themselves so as not to attend in Poland Russian schools.

The Catholics and their Clergy are exposed to continual suspicion and incessantly watched and persecuted. The Polish language is forbidden in Protestant and Israelitic elementary teaching.

The Russian government is not only doing nothing for the improvement of the material situation of the Poles but hinders their economical expansion.

The direct and indirect taxes are very much higher in Poland than in the Empire. The government only makes strategic railways and roads, of no economical value whatever. The tariffs of the railways are regulated so that corn coming from the Empire overflows the Kingdom of Poland's markets, and that corn or other Polish products have no admittance to the markets of the Russian Empire.

In short, since the treaty of Vienna, we see in Russia the same politics which have but one object—the Russification by violence of the Kingdom of Poland. Russia who assumes the protection of Slavism, has up to now done all she could to exterminate the Polish nation. Even the name of "Poland" is strictly forbidden in public documents, being officially replaced by that of "the Vistula province."

It is evident that none of the promises made at the Congress of Vienna have been kept either by Prussia or Russia.

In spite of the obvious good will shown at first by Alexander I, who gave an autonomy to the "Kingdom of Poland" the events have proved that an autocratic and reactionary country cannot allow in its midst a more liberal political organization.

Unable to oppress at the same time all her people, Austria alone was compelled by her defeats, fifty years ago, to give to the Poles a really liberal autonomy.

(To be continued.)



The Tragedy of Poland more Terrible than the Fate of Belgium



IN POLAND gigantic armies march and counter-march over the prostrate body of a stricken nation. The pale gray plains are lit by a thousand fires, and each blaze was once a home. But the crackle of burning timbers is drowned in the rattle of rifle fire and the booming guns.

On the fields of battle other drama is being played. Here Poles bare their breasts to each other's bullets, for the first ranks of the German and Austrian armies are thick with Poland's sons. To understand the tragedy that is being played to-day in Poland, we must remember that the kingdom once stretched far beyond its present boundaries.

West Prussia, Posen, Silesia, and Galicia were all once part of the nation. And like all denationalized peoples, the Poles have clung to traditions with a fervor little short of fanatic.

They might live a thousand years under the Prussian or Austrian eagles, and be in the end stronger in their patriotism.

The fact that the ethnological and geographical boundaries do not coincide has, in this age of conscription, brought about one of the saddest situations the world has ever seen. Regiments of the expatriated have been driven to slaughter their brothers. Doubting the loyalty of the Poles the Germans forced them to hold the first line, and chose for them all the most dangerous positions. In

consequence they are being exterminated by thousands. This is punishment for supporting Russia in the present crisis.

Emissaries, fat with Prussian gold, sought to pollute the pure stream of Polish loyalty with the poison of intrigue. The plan was a complete failure. It was not the flaring brand of revolution that was lit in this denationalized kingdom, but the steady flame of allegiance.

The Poles knew too well the chains that bound their countrymen in Prussia. Families that had been bred and born generation after generation, back to the mythical time of Queen Wanda, in their few contented acres were driven to find a new environment. They received certain sums for their inheritances, but can you pay for land when one has buried his heart in it? The cruel law of expropriation made it possible for Germans to condemn and confiscate all land in the hands of the Poles. Such injustice far outweighed all the economical advantages the Poles enjoyed in Germany.

Of what use are railways, of what use perfect farm roads, when you own no land? Can you send your children to school when they have no home? Those who were allowed to hold their little farms worked under such restrictions that life was a bitter struggle.

An American once said everything in Germany is "verboten" save bending the knee to the emperor. This applies with triple force to Posen and Silesia, ancient Po-

lish provinces. It seems to have been the policy of the conqueror to make life so hard for the expatriated sons of the kings among nations that they would starve or trail back to the motherland, selling their holding for a song.

In a mad dream of commercial expansion the Teuton dreamed of Germanizing not alone that division which had come to him, but also all of Poland. What he was not able to do by intrigue he now attempted by arms.

In Germany the Pole was far worse off than in Austria. Galicia was the hot-house where the flower of Polish patriotism continued to flourish through centuries. Here the people were almost free. Their own priests blessed them in the churches. Polish professors would thrill their scholars with the stories of the nation's ancient glory. Polish hymns were sung wherever people gathered. It was permitted to fly the ancient flag, to carry the Polish eagles on fete days, it even was allowed to elect those who should govern.

Of course the nominal head was sent from Vienna, but, to all intents and purposes, the Poles enjoyed autonomy. The Galicians in the Parliament of Austria turned the scale for or against many a measure. The highest places of the empire were open to them. But Galicia was the step-child province.

When the empire's money was doled out, the Polish portion was last to receive. No roads were built here. No splendid public buildings were erected; in fact, such as remained were confiscated to Austrian service; witness the Palace of Cracow. The land was poorer than the worst parts of Ireland.

So bad were economical conditions that, despite freedom, the Pole of Galicia was poorer than his brother of Posen. People who are poor are never happy. So, despite parading on Polish holidays, despite hymn-singing, despite freedom of religion, language, tradition, schools the expatriated found their burden too heavy. Yet, when the call to arms sounded, the Austrian Poles paused in quandary. Where did their interest lie more?

Then came the proclamation of the Grand Duke Nicholas Nicholavitch. It promised that self-government, the long dream of the Poles tactfully, it referred to the past greatness of the nation. Its every phrase rang with sincerity. It gave the word of a man of honor, and the people trust this uncle of the Tsar.

The proclamation decided Poland. All who were in Russia embraced the Allies' cause with fervor. They were ready to make the last sacrifice for their beloved country. But Posen, West Prussia and Galicia turned tragic eyes towards the motherland. What was to be their fate?

In Galicia desertions were frequent. Alas; the German rule of iron forbade this simple solution of the trou-

ble. So it is in that army that sons of Poland have suffered so terribly.

It cannot be said that Russia had no qualms about her stepchild kingdom. From certain sources authorities had heard of efforts of the Germans to corrupt Polish loyalty, and when Germany also promised the kingdom its freedom there was danger to the apprehended. So at least thought some. The last of these fears have been swept away.

Poles fight only once, and you can never doubt their steadfastness. The people have a record high among the fighting nations. The Poles have seen the day when the Prussians bent their knee before them. Now they battle to bring back that day.

Russian custom provides that conscript Pole must join the Siberian or Caucasian regiments. Officers and men are drafted to distant parts of the empire, and formed into units which garrison the Chinese frontier.

In some of these regiments 80 per cent are Poles. Thus it is simpler to instruct in the home language. Many commands now ring out across the Bzura in Polish.

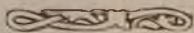
Be as brave as a Pole has come to be a common saying in the Russian army. Kosciuszko and Pulaski's descendants could never be cowards. Stories of individual fearlessness on the part of the Poles form part of everyday talk here.

With a million of such fighting men in the lines, think of the havoc wrought on both sides. The Poles are divided—about half a million are with Russia, another quarter with the Austrians. Here is an army in itself.

Think of the feelings of these men when they go into battle. They know that they are murdering their own friends. There have been cases where brothers fighting in the armies have faced each other. Sometimes on the Austrian side, it has been possible to cheat fate and surrender. But with the Germans, a Teuton marches beside each unfortunate Pole with orders to shoot him should he attempt to fly or fire in the air.

This is the plight of Poland. As Belgium was the battleground in the West, this country is the arena in the East. The case here is more pitiful, if such is possible, for Poland has few friends. Here, as in King Albert's country, famine stalks through the land. When war commenced the population of Poland was twelve million. Add to these five million soldiers. Then destroy the crops, cattle, homes. Cut off all supplies save those for soldiers, and how shall the people feed? It is a wonder that churches are always crowded?

(Granville Fortescue's Special International News Service Dispatch.)



The Polish Spirit in America

Columbus Evening Dispatch, March 19th.—Free Poland, an American semi-monthly, devoted to telling the truth about Poland and her people, has been challenged to come out on one side or the other of the great war. It refuses, and its reasons are good. First, it is published in a neutral country; second, there are Poles in both armies; third, it desires "the freedom of all oppressed peoples, the freedom of Poland but neither czardom nor the Prussian "mailed fist."

If we get the spirit of Free Poland, it is for Poland, long ago rent asunder and the pieces added to ambitious monarchies. It is for Poland, now crushed and bleeding under the feet of rival armies. It is for liberty, justice and peace.

That is a good American spirit. May it be triumphant when the war machines have done their worst.

Mr. E. Obecny to the Editor of the New York Globe

Editor of The Globe, Sir—As one well acquainted with the Jewish question in Poland and also holding a high opinion of the fairness and conscientiousness of The Globe, it was with not a little surprise and resentment that the writer of this letter read your presentation of that question in your editorial "Poland's Private War."

The reports upon which you base your contentions emanate either from Jewish sources hostile to the Poles or else from German correspondents who wish to discredit the Grand Duke Nicholas Nikolajewicz's promise granted to Poland. With this end in view, there are proofs that there is being waged in neutral countries a systematic campaign of calumny and vilification against the Poles by certain Jewish elements. The accusations made would be ludicrous if they were not so base and wholly fictitious.

Imagine for a moment if you can such a contingency as that which the purveyors of these reports would have us believe. The Poles, who are themselves suffering the dire consequences of the war in greater measure than any other people in Europe, starved, trampled, and pillaged by the contending armies—these same Poles are accused of maltreating others! On its very face the charge is so preposterous that no sensible person will for one moment grant it credence....

No nation has treated the Jews with greater justice and magnanimity than Poland. It was the first to offer them asylum and equality of opportunity (which they have interpreted as abuse of opportunity) when the Jews were driven and persecuted all over Europe. And to-day

how are they repaying Poland?—with enmity and calumny.

All went well until Jews raised the banner of a narrow Zionism and separatism in Poland, and joining hands with the Russian bureaucracy (a bureaucracy which is treating the Jews like dogs to boot), endeavored to wrest from the Poles the natural rights of a native majority as opposed to an alien minority.

I repeat, the Jews have brought this hostility upon themselves. Hatred breeds hatred. The Poles have granted them every concession it was in their power to grant, but the Jews, egged on by agitators from inner Russia, would not be satisfied and wished to usurp the rights of a majority. They are still carrying on the old campaign of vilification and misrepresentation. They may mislead a few well-intentioned but ill-informed persons here in America, but Europe knows the true status of the Jewish question in Poland (which, by the way, is not considered one of prime importance.) How poorly these Jews are paving the way for that mutual understanding which will be indispensable to a co-existence with the governing race in a future Poland!

Fortunately, not all the Jews in Poland have adopted this attitude of hostility; there is a saner element among them which is friendly to the Polish nation and has always co-operated with it. Let us hope that this element will prevail with the others.

EDMUND OBEENY.

Brooklyn, March 2.

VIEWS FROM PRZEMYSL, A GALICIAN STRONGHOLD RECENTLY CAPTURED BY THE RUSSIANS



Przemyśl: Franciscan and Casimir Streets (Ulice Franciszkańska i Kazimierzowska)

The Jews and the Poles



FOR THE LAST few months an anti-Polish propaganda is carried on in our newspapers, with the object of undermining the sympathy and good will of the American people by accusing the Poles of ill-treatment, persecution, even of wanton killing of the Jews. When a propaganda is carried so far that even the usually well-informed *Evening Post* expresses its doubts of the tolerance and justice of the Polish people, an answer and explanation are in place.

Being familiar, as a native of Poland of Jewish descent, with the past and the present conditions of the country, I deem it my duty to bring before the American public the actual conditions and their causes in Poland.

When other European nations persecuted and expelled from their lands the Jews on account of religious and racial differences, the Polish people during their whole political existence offered them a refuge, and permitted them to dwell amidst themselves in peace and contentment for nearly a thousand years. Since the promulgation of the Polish national Constitution on May 3, 1793, when civil rights were given to the Jews, they shared with the native Poles their sorrows and miseries, they participated in all Polish uprisings, fighting against the Russians in 1830 and in 1863 as true sons of their land, and even as late as 1905 after the promulgation of the short-lived Russian manifesto, there was a feeling of harmony and fraternity among all classes of Poles and Jews.

What happened that suddenly the two elements found themselves at opposite poles? Up to late there was in the Polish press only one weekly magazine with anti-Jewish tendencies. What happened that now nearly the entire Polish press attacks a certain element of the Jews? Up to the present nearly all important Polish writers, authors, and publicists were very liberally inclined towards the Jews, guided by the most liberal among them, Alexander Swietochowski, who during the forty years of his literary activities had been the foremost representative of Polish liberal thought, giving all his life labor to bring about the assimilation of the Jews to the Poles beside them. What happened, that the same writers, authors, and publicists, Swietochowski included, who were sincere, tolerant, and free from prejudice, turned against the Jews? It was neither a local nor a temporary revulsion of feeling. It ran through the whole of Poland like a hurricane engulfing all classes of the Polish people.

The national existence of the Polish people was at stake, endangered by the sinister activities of the Russian Jews, who, being driven out from and persecuted in Russia, found again a refuge in Poland. From all parts of Russia they flocked into Warsaw and Lodz and other Polish cities, bringing with them the Russian language, Russian customs and ideas. In the streets, restaurants, hotels and theatres, even in the daily business transactions, the Russian language became more prevalent—a thing never heard of in Poland—and the two largest cities of Poland, Warsaw and Lodz, seemed to a stranger Russian cities. Nearly all the exporting and importing trades passed into the hands of the Russian Jews, and they made themselves obnoxious in every walk of life, studiously insulting the traditions and memories which are sacred to the Polish nation. They were playing in Poland the game of the Russifier, helping the Russian Government in its aims to Russianize Poland. Far more dangerous for the national existence of Poland was the influence of the Rus-

sian Jew upon the native Polish Jew. It hindered the gradual assimilation of the Polish Jews, which, at its best, was progressing very slowly, as the Russian Government was studiously interfering with every step undertaken by the Poles to bring the two peoples in closer contact, not allowing the teaching of the Jews the Polish language in the schools or publishing appropriate books. Up to 1903 even the publication of a Polish-Jewish dictionary was prohibited by the Russian Government.

With the advent of the Russian Jews, a feeling of separation between the masses of the Polish Jews and the Poles was noticed, and a movement originated among the Jews which was laden with great danger for the existence of the Poles as a national unity. Many Zionistic organizations came into life, a number of Yiddish newspapers were published, all propagating ill-feeling towards the Poles and arousing the dormant Jewish nationalism upon a Polish soil. Being surrounded and governed by Russian and Germans, such a movement threatened with disintegration the Polish nation.

The climax came when, during the last election to the Duma, the Russian Jews forced their candidate, an illiterate iron workman, to be elected the representative of the first city in Poland, Warsaw, saying literally to the Poles that "they, and not the Poles, are masters in Warsaw, and that the country is not Poland, but Judaeo-Poland."

The imminent danger to their nationality was presented vividly to the Poles. It was enough to be partitioned and governed by the Russians, Austrians, and Prussians, but to see the national life disintegrated by the intruders—the Russian Jews—was more than could be tolerated, and they resolved to stop the influx and the activities of the undesirable and dangerous element. Realizing that the Russian Government is only over-anxious for its own political ends to undermine the national existence of the Poles by closing its own doors to the Jews and forcing them into Poland as the only place of refuge, and being themselves powerless to stop or influence the conduct of Russia, the Poles had recourse to the only means at their disposal—they organized a social and economic boycott against the Jews. It mostly injured the poor native Polish Jews, who were living from hand to mouth, harming very little the real culprits, the undesirable Russian Jews, who, being engaged in export trading, were not dependent upon local trade.

During such a confused state the present war broke out. No wonder that with such conditions, when, to boot evil human passions were loosened and human life cheapened, the scum of the civil and military population perpetrated atrocities and murders; the Russian soldiery being induced to brand the Jews and German-Jews—a doubly undesirable element—by the language used by the Polish Jew—the Yiddish jargon—a mutilated imitation of the German language.

But before framing an indictment against a whole nation, impartial evidence is needed to carry, certainly to fairminded people, that atrocities were perpetrated by the Polish people or instigated by representative members of the Polish community. Was such impartial evidence given? Most assuredly not. The hatred of Poles toward the Russian Jew does not spring from a religious or racial source—a feeling foreign to the Polish national character; it is fundamentally of national and economic origin—that is, it is due to two causes which can be adjusted with good

will and tact on both sides amicably and satisfactorily. The political credo of the majority of the Polish people towards the Jew has been and is to give to the Jews in Poland as to human beings all that it is possible to give, but to Jews as a separate nation in Poland—refuse all national rights. On the other hand, to quote the words of an editorial in the recent *Przegląd Warszawski* (December 21, 1914): "Everybody, without distinction of race or religion, who considers himself a Pole and is ready to prove it by word and act on every occasion, may be sure that in a selfgoverning Polish community he will be always and everywhere treated as equal among equals."

With such a political credo the Polish nation can face the tribunal of the American people—nay of the whole

world—even the Americans of Jewish descent, and be sure not only of their approval but of their hearty support.

It behooves the leaders of the American Jews not to stir up animosities against the Polish people in a time when they are fighting for their national existence and when they have a fair chance of gaining their independence, for which they have struggled for 125 years. It is unfortunate for the Polish Jews, as a whole, that anti-Polish propaganda should be associated with them. The Jews who are now living in Poland will remain there, no matter what the results of this present war may be.

BOLESŁAW LAPOWSKI, M.D.

New York, March 3.



While Unfurling the Banner of Poland, Wladyslaus Szuyiski, leader of the Polish Volunteers of the First Foreign Legion, is Dying For France (Drawn by Jan Styka).

An Appeal to Civilized Nations

(This Appeal is herewith printed as published by Henryk Sienkiewicz.)

In the midst of a terrible war attended by atrocious misery, the Demons of death and destruction now dispute the Empire of the world.

Thousands upon thousands of soldiers are dying on the field of battle, and millions of peaceful human beings are perishing of cold and hunger.

Two countries have been more specially the victims of these sanguinary conflicts. Two countries, but yesterday prosperous, are now wastes of desolation. These are Poland and Belgium.

The assistance, given to Belgium, has honoured humanity. Poland, my country, now appeals for aid.

An area seven times as vast, as that of the realm of king Albert, has in Poland been crushed and devastated by the iron heel of war. The blood of our unhappy country cries out for divine justice. Her sons, compelled to fight in hostile armies, slay one another in fratricidal combat. From the banks of the Niemen to the summits of the Carpathians fire has destroyed the towns and villages and over the whole of this huge, desolated country the spectre of famine has spread out its wings.

All labour and industry have been swept away. The ploughshare is rusted: the peasant has neither grain nor cattle. The artisan is idle; all works and factories have been destroyed. The tradesmen cannot sell his ware; there is no one to buy. The hearth is extinguished, and disease and misery prevail. The aged and infirm have no shelter from the cold and hardships of the winter-weather. Little children, stretching out their arms to their mothers for bread, receive in answer—but tears.

Of such starving people, crying out for aid, listen Christian nations, there are millions!

Has Poland no right to your assistance?

Each unfortunate nation has such right in the name of Humanity, but the Polish nation has also other claims

to plead her cause before the Universe. Conquered and torn asunder, she ever struggled against brutal force, remembering always her glorious past and ever affirming the sacred rights of Liberty. For centuries she was the rampart of Civilization, the barrier of Christendom in its struggle with the Crescent. She ever fought side by side with all defenders of freedom. The names of Sobieski and Kosciuszko will be ever graven on your memory. Where was any generous cause, in which Poland did not freely shed her blood? Where was human suffering, which by her means she did not attempt to alleviate? Our genius, our labour and our creative powers have left their imprint upon many pages of the World's history. Our voice ever rose in unison with the great call of civilized Humanity.

Therefore, in the name of universal fraternity, in the name of a country ever faithful to that sacred principle, in the name of the teachings of Christ, and of our past and present sufferings, to You civilized Nations I appeal!

Help us to save my country from her terrible distress. Let us give the labourer bread to restore his strength and seed, wherewith to reap his future harvest. May Polish mothers be enabled to give their famished children something more than tears. May the Polish Nation survive this hour of supreme trial and with renewed hope and strength await the dawn of her near Resurrection.

HENRYK SIENKIEWICZ.

General Committee for the relief of the victims of war in Poland:—Henry Sienkiewicz, President; Ignace Paderewski, vice-president; the President of the Executive Committee: Anthony Osuchowski.

The Swiss National Bank (Banque National Suisse) at Lausanne receives all contributions.

POLAND

I.

UNITED States, United States,
A weeping maiden at your gates
Pleads loud her cause, and tells her need
Shall it be said you did not help,
You—Freedom's earliest love?

II.

She will not die, she will not die,
No matter how her tyrants try
To crush and kill: Oh, star-crowned queen
She calls to Thee, for she has seen
A star of hope above.

III.

Oh, she must live, yes, she must live,
And for her life our lives we'll give.
We'll wrest her brave and noble sons
From Teuton's might, and hateful Huns;
And give her back her own.

IV.

A trumpet blast, a trumpet blast
Sings out to say her might is past.
Throughout the lands across the sea
Her Children say "We should be free."
Let us catch that tone.

V.

There can't be peace, there can't be peace,
Until the Viking vultures cease
To claw their prey. Shall cruel might
For ever lord it over Right
And God look on unmoved?

VI.

It cannot be, it cannot be,
God's voice is plain—it tells that we
Restore dismembered land for you,
A noble task is ours to do,
And one of us beloved.

MICHAEL JOS. MALONEY,
St. Charles Seminary,
Overbrook, Montgomery Co., Pa.

(Inspired by a talk with a Polish fellow-student, M.J.M.)

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A SEMI-MONTHLY

The Truth About Poland and Her People

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To Editors and Publishers

The Polish Question is a timely one throughout the world. The contents of this publication will furnish, we hope, adequate material for use at opportune moments.

Prussian Promises to Poland

Of what value are the Prussian promises to Poland? Recent European (Polish) newspapers report that the infamous Expropriation Law, for a time held in abeyance, is to be revived, as a fit reward for Polish sacrifices in behalf of Germany!

* * *

Then, the recent declaration from Berlin that Germans will burn three villages in Russia for every one the Russians burn in East Prussia will make some of us who are pro-German sit up and take notice.

"The German armies", observes the CHICAGO JOURNAL, "are not, never have been and probably never will be in the real Russia. They are in Poland, and here and there they have penetrated a very little way into Lithuania. The only villages they can burn are Polish villages, with perhaps an occasional Lithuanian hamlet.

"Read in this light, the German declaration is less a threat than a confession. At the beginning of the war, Germany was going to "liberate" the Poles and make Poland a "free" member of the German empire. The kaiser had his triumphal entry into Warsaw all arranged. Now, Polish towns are to be burned as reprisals for havoc wreaked by Russian armies in Germany. There could not be a more complete admission that the effort to raise Poland against Russia has failed utterly. It is as if England should threaten to burn Belgian towns in revenge for the bombardment of Scarborough, or as if France were to

penalize villages in Alsace for German devastations in Champagne."

* * *

In the light of these facts, confessions, or rather threats, what is then the value of Prussian promises? Please observe that we deliberately say 'Prussian'. We well remember the advice of one of our German correspondents, who in a letter published in Free Poland, January 16th, writes in part:

"I believe if you let out the word Germany, you would gain more by it. There are twenty-two small states in all belonging to Germany now, and I believe there is scarcely one out of the twenty-one besides Prussia that approves of the ill treatment of Prussia against Poland."

Real German thinkers, therefore, admit that Prussia's blunders have caused the German Empire no small amount of worry.

* * *

The Boston, Mass., Herald, in its editorial on Polish Home Rule, concludes as follows:

"The story that Germany and Austria were to proclaim the independence of Poland, at a convention to be held at Cracow on Feb. 14, was a paltry jest. Austria would never willingly surrender Galicia, and when Emperor William talks of "our beloved East Prussia" he evidently has no intention of giving away the Polish part of it — to say nothing of Posen and West Prussia. The denationalization of the section of Poland under Prussian rule, including the ruthless expropriation of the Polish landowners, is one of the national scandals of our time, and the Polish people are particularly anxious that none of their race shall remain under the Hohenzollern heel. From 1815 to 1864 they enjoyed a separate government under Russian supremacy, even the name of "Kingdom of Poland" being maintained. Restoration of the home rule of that period is now their most earnest desire. Russia has promised it, and she is expected to keep her word."

* * *

Interesting in this connection is the opinion of the Rev. E. J. Hammer, who takes issue with those Germans who condemn Prussian anti-Polish policies. He writes:

"I am not a Prussian. I was raised in Saxony, whose king August the Strong once was also king of Poland. I know a little of Poland history. And lately I read, even in English papers which so eagerly at present seem to favor the cause of a free Poland and Russia, if only for the reason to hurt the German cause, that "Poland became a victim of her own folly, which was obnoxious to her neighbors." Just as the British and the pro-British try hard to suppress the truth about this war, and to slander Germany, so they try to deceive the Poles here and abroad, by making them believe that Russia will keep her promise, made under pressure of war. You need only think of Finland—that should settle this question. And was it not Russia's condition that all Poles were to support and fight for Russia? Do they? Was not that same promise later withdrawn because the Poles outside of Russia fought against her and for good reasons they do so yet? And was it not even confessed in Russia later in the time of this war that the Czar had not signed that proclamation, so it came out as a pure swindle. Do not the Poles enjoy a much better civilization in Germany and Austria than under Russia? Do not the Polish legions fight against Russia? Why do they not go over to the Russians? But you Poles here in the U. S., I do not believe all of them, seem to be entirely under the British influence, as seems to be nearly all the world, willing or unwilling, just as

a large part of our American press, and what that means, we Germans know as well as do the Irish.

"Why do 35 Polish girls, some of them from Russian Poland fight on the side of Austria and Germany, against the Russians? Among them is Stanislaw Ordynska from Warsaw who for her brave deeds became a sergeant in the Austrian army recently. Is it not the Russians that devastate Poland, rob her people of everything and kill noncombatants, while the Germans try to avoid destruction, pay for everything they require and relieve the people in distress wherever possible.

"That the Allies have been lying terribly about the Germans from the start of this war has been proven again and again not only by the Germans but also my many neutral persons among them quite a number of American travelers and reporters.

"And you will certainly not help but rather hinder the cause of Poland by slandering the Germans and by supporting the cause of the Allies and especially that of England.

"Your paper praises Britain for what she had done for some Poles, but forgets to give credit to Germany for what she did for the Poles, and I personally remember how many hundreds or thousands of Poles found profitable employment in Saxony alone!"

* * *

The Rev. E. J. Hammer resents that nearly "all the world seems to be entirely under the British influence." Many Poles are for the Allies because Prussia, by her present threats and confessions, as many Germans themselves acknowledge, plainly shows that she has no intention of doing her share towards the rebuilding of a Free Poland. A Free Poland has friends perhaps in Germany, but not in Prussia, that is sure. We are not "slandering the Germans", as the Rev. E. J. Hammer says, but attacking Prussia's anti-Polish policies. And rightly minded Germans, such as our first correspondent, approve our stand in the matter. We hope the Rev. E. J. Hammer will not fail to understand the distinction. Free Poland violates no principle of neutrality if it emphasizes this point.

* * *

The Rev. E. J. Hammer is mistaken when he says that our "paper forgets to give credit to Germany for what she did for the Poles." In our editorial of February 1, 1915, we wrote: "The suffering has improved the quality of the Polish race; it is all the better for that humiliation and anguish of heart. In Prussian Poland, for instance, Bismarckian policy, politically to be condemned, economically and educationally has proved a boon to the Poles. Polish mismanagement, which the Germans called *Polnische Wirtschaft* has been done away with, and instead a virile middle class has been created, while the percentage of analphabets is even lower than that in some parts of the United States."

The Poles are not deceived by the British, as the Reverend notes; they remember Russian persecutions and Prussian repressions. They know, and always proclaim, that "the partition of Poland is an historical wrong which must be righted, that's all." Has Prussia any intention of righting the wrong?

* * *

Nor are the Irish so pro-Prussian as the Reverend believes. For instance, read what is written by William Redmond:

"By every consideration of honor, sentiment and interest, Ireland is reart and soul with the Allies in their

struggle against Germany. Her interest in every direction is that Germany should not conquer. She is not the despairing land she was thirty years ago. Her people are commencing to enjoy security, comfort and prosperity. She has something to lose now.

"No Irishman worth his salt would be beholden for any favor to those who have ruined Belgium, even if it were in their power or their will to grant it. The Irish nation believes that the passing of home rule is, in fact a treaty of peace with the British people. The British have kept faith. Does any one imagine that we are going to repay that trust by aiding the enemy? The Irish people mean to play a part in keeping with the tradition of the Irish nation—it was ever on the side of freedom, and, above all, freedom for small peoples.

T. P. O'Connor resents the suggestion that Ireland "should sell her honor", and he adds:

"To Germany, Ireland has never owed anything; to France she never looked in vain for sympathy and help. So far as England is concerned, our fight is over, because Ireland has conquered the convictions and won the good will of the English people. It was part of the contract in the fight for home rule that if England conceded good government, Ireland should concede good will. Her policy is the support of the democracy and civilization of small nations against the medieval barbarism of militarism.

And John E. Redmond, who will live in Irish history with Emmet and O'Connell, has declared:

"Today the democracy of Ireland turns with the utmost anxiety and sympathy to Great Britain in every trial and danger. Ireland feels that the British democracy has kept faith with her. She knows that this is a just war. On hundreds of platforms I have promised in the name of my country that when the rights of Ireland were admitted she would become the strongest arm in the defense of the empire.

"After centuries of misunderstanding, the democracy of Great Britain has finally and irrevocably decided to give back to the Irish people their national liberties. It has kept faith with Ireland; it is now a duty of honor for Ireland to keep faith in return.

"This is a war for high ideals of human government and international relations, and Ireland would be false to her history and to every consideration of honor, good faith and self-interest did she not willingly bear her share in its burdens and sacrifices.

In this connection The Philadelphia North American, writes:

"Those who have intrigued to associate the name of Ireland with the designs of autocracy and militarism strangely misconceive the lessons of history and the political principles which animate the Irish people. Between Prussianism and their passion for democracy there is an irreconcilable antagonism.

"It might have been known that Irish hearts would turn instinctively to the cause of democracy, of free institutions, of the rights of small independent nations, of Belgium and Poland and Servia. No race will do more, in proportion to its size, to uphold the ideals for which it has fought throughout the centuries, and none will win greater renown for courage and devotion and sacrifice in behalf of human liberty."

A Notable Letter from the General Committee for War Stricken Poland

SIENKIEWICZ, PADEREWSKI, AND OTHER EMINENT MEN ARE APPEALING TO THE WHOLE WORLD FOR AID AND ASSISTANCE.

Poland Turns Hopefully to the People of the United States with the Following Memorable Appeal.

VEVEY-LAUSANNE, February 1915.

Vevey (Switzerland) Grand Hotel.

I.

Poland has hitherto been the principal theatre, object and victim of the present war.

The line of battle extends to nearly 1000 kilometres (650 miles), between the Mazurian Lakes and the Carpathian passes, the two extreme limits of the country inhabited by the Poles. It goes through the whole kingdom of Poland and Galicia, an area of more than 200,000 square kilometres (80,000 square miles) with a population of 21 millions. In this territory about 3 millions of Austro-Germans and 4 millions of Russians are fighting each other. These 7 millions soldiers have been, since more than six months, treading down and tearing in turn the Polish land, famishing and exterminating its inhabitants.

In this war, which is raging on their territory and ruining it, the Poles are obliged to fight in two opposite camps and for a cause which is not their own. They must engage in fraternal strife; put by both sides in the first line of battle, the Polish soldiers very often kill each other in a bayonet charge. Moreover, they undergo recruiting on an exceedingly high scale. No delay neither exemption of military service is accorded to them, as it is granted to the central provinces of the belligerent States and especially to the great towns and to certain important branches of production. On the contrary, they are submitted to a most rigorous system of conscription, used in frontier districts, in order to evacuate in time all the conscripts who could be taken by the enemy. The Poles hitherto have altogether furnished a million and half of soldiers, almost equally divided between the Russian and Austro-German armies. Up to now 400,000 of them have been lost in killed, wounded and prisoners. And all this: *sic vos, non vobis*.

II.

The Kingdom of Poland includes 10 provinces, 127,500 square kilometres (51,000 square miles) with 13 millions of inhabitants. The area directly affected by the war is one of 100,000 square kilometres (40,000 s. m.) with 10 millions of people. The two largest and richest provinces after that of Warsaw, those of Lublin and Piotrkow, besides those of Kielce, Radom, Plock, Kalisch, Suwalki and the greater part of those of Warsaw and Lomza, have been devastated from end to end.

Everywhere the tide of fighting repeatedly overran that country. It submerged about 200 towns and 9000 villages. The material damages amount to above 3 milliards of francs (£ 120 millions). 5000 of these villages were razed to the ground, either in battle or in retreat, to stay pursuit. Innumerable countryhouses and farms were burnt; more than hundred churches pulled down,

more than a thousand badly damaged. All the stores of corn and forage were seized or destroyed. One million of horses and 2 millions of cattle were taken for the armies or perished for want of pasture. Even the bare earth was ravaged; by the digging of endless trenches and also by the effect of heavy shells, the fertile soil was swept away, buried under clay and gravel, and, even in the richest districts of Lublin and Radom, deprived for a long time of its productiveness. Ruin has come equally upon the peasant population and the great landowners, who have forfeited considerable investments. The whole of the agricultural production, valued at 2½ milliards of francs (£ 100 millions) a year, has been entirely stopped for a long time, by want of seed and cattle. A rural population of 7 millions is therefore reduced to beggary. A very large proportion of them, whose villages in the fire zone have been burnt down, are quite homeless; dying of hunger and cold, feeding on roots, bark and carrion, they roam through the woods or shelter themselves in the towns.

But three quarters of the towns are equally in the midst of the operations of war. Some, like Kalish (50,000 inhabitants, have been destroyed; others, great industrial centres, such as Czenstochowa, Sosnowice (80,000 i. each), Lodz, which was twice captured (450,000 i.), suffer a terrible financial crisis. The capital of Poland, Warsaw (900,000 i.), nearly twice as populous as Brussels or Rome, has also been sorely tried by being constantly threatened with capture, overwhelmed by aerial bombardment and cut off from the wealthiest western districts of the country. The means of communication have ceased to exist; upwards of 1,500 kilometres (1000 miles) of railways have been torn away, stations and bridges blown up, even the highroads ploughed over. The coal-pits of Dombrowa, supplying the whole country, were lost at the very beginning of the war; the mines were blown up or flooded. Instead of getting, as usually it does, 30,000 wagons of coal every month, the country barely receives 100 from the far distant coal-pits of the Donetz. All the factories have stopped working, many are greatly damaged, 100 very important ones are destroyed. The whole of the industrial production, amounting to above 2 milliards of francs (£ 800 millions) yearly, has been ruined. 400,000 workmen are now without means of subsistence. Together with the multitude of artisans and tradesmen deprived with their families of any earnings, the great majority of the townsmen, 3 millions in number, are destitute. Many die of hunger; others have been obliged to fly, principally from the smaller towns, to Warsaw or further on to the East, in a state of utter distress. Everywhere spread epidemical diseases, famine, typhus, fever, dysentery, especially among children, from the total want of milk, and imported cholera. Moreover the hospitals are crowded with wounded; and the medicaments, chiefly foreign products, are wanting.

III.

Galicia (Austrian Poland) includes 82 districts, 78,500 square kilometres (32,000 square miles) with 8 millions of inhabitants. With the only exception of Cracow and the 6 adjoining districts (5,000 square kilometres and 750,000 inhabitants), it has become throughout the

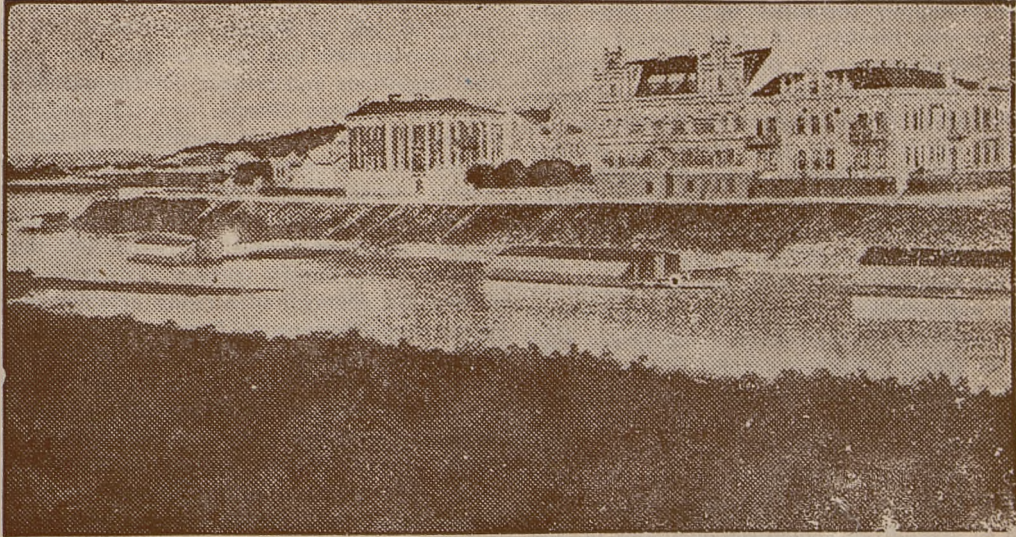
seat of war. The 17 eastern districts (18,000 s. k. and 1½ millions i.) have been captured since the beginning of the war. But the rest of the country, where the great operations of war happened (56,000 s. k. and 6 millions i.), has suffered much more. Here especially a large transversal tract between Lemberg and Bochnia (10,000 s. k. and 1 million i.), where the principal battles have been fought, is totally depopulated and looks like an immense cemetery.

Nearly all this territory had to support fights and invasion again and again, in certain places seven times over 100 towns and 6000 villages were damaged and the immediate losses amount to 2 milliard francs (£280 millions). More than 2,500 villages were utterly destroyed. 800,000 horses were taken, 1½ million cattle and nearly all the stores of corn and forage. The yearly agricultural production of about a milliard francs (£40 millions) has been ruined considerable time, as has also been the industrial, worth ½ milliard of francs (£20 millions) yearly, and employing 100,000 workmen, chiefly in the oil-fields. All the towns are severely damaged; many like Tarnopol, Brody, Tarnow, Nisko, are in ruins. Amongst the most important, the administrative head of the coun-

ty, who have twice supported the heaviest disasters of war. There are further the 200,000 Polish mountainers upon the Hungarian and Bukowina frontiers, who have twice been overrun by invasion. And lastly, there are the 250,000 Polish inhabitants of the districts of Bialystok, Biala and Sokolka in the province of Grodno, who suffered the same evils.

IV.

Poland, great and ancient among civilized nations, tormented incessantly since a century and a half, has now been plunged, without any fault of her own, into the deepest mischief of an universal war. On a territory nearly equal to that of the whole of England and Scotland, and more populous than Spain, this unhappy but industrious people, of so strong a vitality, has been suddenly deprived of all its means of existence and condemned to the most terrible sufferings, almost to extinction, by the faults of others. Such a misfortune, combined to such an injustice, is without a paralell in modern history. Nevertheless, in the face of so appalling a tragedy the world seems unmoved. It is certainly not for want of compassion, but for want of exact information on the



Przemyśl: A Street along the River Bank (Wyrzeże Kościuski)

try, Lemberg (250,000 i.) fell into the hands of the invaders almost at the beginning of the war; the ancient crowning capital of Poland, Cracow (180,000 i.) saw its civil population forcibly evacuated; the fortress of Przemyśl (60,000 i.) is still besieged. More than 700 churches have been demolished or severely damaged. Many Polish landowners and peasants, chiefly from the eastern invaded districts, were constrained to seek refuge in the Austrian central provinces. They were followed by a great deal of fugitives from the towns and by the former Polish administration of the occupied districts (40,000 railway officials alone.) The forced Galician emigration to the interior of the Austrian empire amounts already to more than a million (there are in Bohemia alone 350,000 of them). Most of these exiles are without any means, in the deepest misery. Generally speaking, all the calamities brought about by the war, such as destruction, famine, sickness and death, throughout the Kingdom of Poland, has also befallen Galicia.

Finally, on the extreme limits of Poland, there were the 300,000 Polish Mazurs of the Lake plain of East Prus-

true state of affairs in Poland. The undersigned Committee, in bringing this information to the civilised world, believes to be doing its duty not only to the cause of its country, but to the conscience of humanity.

GENERAL RELIEF COMMITTEE

For the Victims of the War in Poland.

(General Relief Committee for the victims of the war in Poland:—Henry Sienkiewicz, president; Ignace Paderewski, vicepresident; Anthony Osuchowski, president of Executive Commission. The Swiss National Bank (Banque Nationale Suisse) at Lausanne, receives subscriptions. Address of the Executive Commission:—Vevey (Switzerland), Grand Hotel.)

NOTICE:—All Contributions and funds collected in America are sent to the Swiss National Bank, Lausanne, Switzerland. The American address is: POLISH CENTRAL RELIEF COMMITTEE, J. F. Smulski, treasurer, Northwestern Trust and Savings Bank, 1201 Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

An Account of the Partition of Poland

By *SIR JAMES MacKINTOSH*

(Originally Published in the *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. XXXVII.)

(Continued from *FREE POLAND*, No. 13.)

THE RUSSIAN and Prussian ministers presented notes in favor of the Dissidents in September 1764, and afterwards urged the claims of that body more fully to the Diet of 1766, when they were seconded with honest intentions, though perhaps with a doubtful right of interference by Great Britain, Denmark, and Sweden, as parties to the treaty of Oliwa, or as guarantees of that important treaty, the foundation of the political system of the north of Europe. The Diet, influenced by the unnatural union of an intolerant spirit, with a generous indignation against foreign interference, rejected all these solicitations, though they were undoubtedly agreeable to the principle of the treaty of Oliwa, and though some of them proceeded from powers who could not be suspected of unfriendly intentions. In 1767, the Dissidents were unhappily prevailed upon to enter into confederations for the recovery of their ancient rights, and thus to furnish a pretext for the armed interference of Russia. Forty thousand Russians entered Poland under pretence of protecting the Confederated Dissidents. In order to embroil the affairs of that distracted country still more irretrievably, Catharine now affected to response the cause of the Republicans, who had resisted the election of Stanislaw. Prince Radziwill returned from his exile. A general confederation of malcontents was formed under his auspices at Radom, but surrounded by Russian troops, and subject to the orders of the brutal Repnin. That capricious barbarian used his power with such insolence as soon to provoke general resistance. He prepared for a subservient Diet by the utmost excesses of military violence at the electors, and by threats of banishment to Siberia held out to every one whose opposition he dreaded. The Diet, which met on the 4th October, 1767, showed strong symptoms of independence. The means adopted by Repnin to subdue the obstinacy of that Assembly are described by Rulhieres in one of the most striking passages of his eloquent work.

The Diet were at length intimidated; and Repnin obtained their consent to a treaty with Russia, stipulating for the equal admission of all religious sects to civil offices, containing a reciprocal guarantee "of the integrity of the territories of both powers in the most solemn and sacred manner"; confirming the constitution of Poland, especially the fatal law of unanimity, with a few alterations recently made by the Diet, and placing this "Constitution, with the Government, Liberty, and Rights of Poland, under the guarantee of her Imperial Majesty, who most solemnly promises to preserve the republic for ever entire." Thus, under the pretence of religious liberty the disorder and feebleness of Poland were perpetuated, and the principle of guarantee once more applied to internal institutions, to the absolute and total destruction of all remains of independence. Frederic II, an accomplice in these crimes, describes their immediate affect with the truth and coolness of an unconcerned spectator. "So many acts of sovereignty", says he, "exercised by a foreign power on the territory of the republic, at length excited universal indignation; the offensive measures were

not softened by the arrogance of Prince Repnin;—enthusiasm seized the minds of all, and the grandees availed themselves of the fanaticism and of their followers and serfs, to throw off a yoke which had become insupportable." In this temper of the nation, the Diet rose on the 6th of March, 1768, and with it expired the confederation of Radom, which furnished the second example, within five years, of a Polish party so blind to experience as to become the dupes of Russia. A confederation was immediately formed at Bar in Podolia, for the preservation of religion and liberty, which, in a moment, spread over the whole kingdom. The Russian officers hesitated for a moment whether they could take a part in this intestine war. Repnin by pronouncing the word *Siberia*, compelled those members of the Senate who were at Warsaw, to claim the aid of Russia, notwithstanding the dissent of the Czartoryskis and their friends, who protested against that inglorious and ruinous determination. The events of the war between Russia, and the confederation which followed, it is not our province to relate. On the part of Russia, it presents a series of acts of treachery, falsehood, rapacity and cruelty, not unworthy of Caesar Borgia. The resistance of the Poles, an undisciplined and almost unarmed people, betrayed by their King and Senate, in a country without fastnesses of fortifications, where the enemy had already established themselves at every important point, forms one of the most glorious, though the most unfortunate, of the struggle of mankind for their rights. The Council of the Confederation established themselves at Eperies, within the frontier of Hungary, with the connivance and secret favor of Austria. Some French officers, and aid in money from Versailles and Constantinople, added something to their strength, and more to their credit. Repnin entered into a negotiation with them, and proposed an armistice, till he could procure reinforcements. Old Pulaski, the first leader of the Confederation, objected. "There is no word", said he, "in the Russian language for honor." The event speedily showed that the word would have been altogether superfluous. Repnin, as soon as he was reinforced laughed at the armistice, fell upon the Confederates, and laid waste the lands of all true Poles with fire and sword. The Cossacks brought to Repnin's house at Warsaw, Polish gentlemen tied to the tail of their horses, and dragged in this manner along the ground. Russian Colonel, named Drewitz, seems to have surpassed all his comrades in ferocity. Not content with massacring the gentlemen to whom quarter had been given, he inflicted on them the punishments invented in Russia for slaves; sometimes tying them to trees as a mark for his soldiers to fire at; sometimes scorching certain parts of their skin, so as to represent the national dress of Poland; sometimes dispersing them over the provinces; after he had cut off their hands, arms, nose or ears, as living examples of the punishment suffered by those who loved their country. It is remarkable, that this ferocious monster, then the hero of the Muscovite army, was deficient in the common quality of military courage. Peter had not civilized

the Russians. That was an undertaking beyond even his genius, and inconsistent with his ferocious character. He only armed a barbarous people with the arts of civilized war.

But no valor could have enabled the Confederates of Bar to resist the power of Russia for four years, if they had not been seconded by certain important changes in the political system of Europe, which at first raised a powerful diversion in their favor, but at length proved the immediate cause of the dismemberment of Poland. These changes may be dated from the alliance of France with Austria in 1756, and still more from the peace of 1762. On the day on which the Duke de Choiseul signed the preliminaries of peace at Fontainebleau, he entered into a secret convention with Spain by which it was agreed, that the war should be renewed against England in eight years; a time which was thought sufficient to repair the exhausted strength of the two Bourbon monarchies. The hostility of the French minister to England was at that time extreme. "If I were master", said he, "we should act towards England as Spain did to the Moors. If we really adopted that system, England would in thirty years be reduced and destroyed. Soon after, however, his vigilance was directed to other quarters by

1768; but the Revolution accomplished by Gustavus III, in 1772, reestablished the French ascendant in that kingdom. The Count de Vergennes, ambassador at Constantinople, opened the eyes of the Sultan on the ambitious projects of Catharine in Sweden, in Poland, and in the Crimea. The strongest assurances of powerful aid were held out by France, which, had Choiseul remained in power, would probably have been carried into effect. By all these means, Vergennes persuaded the Porte to declare war against Russia on the 30th of October 1768. The Confederates of Bar, who had established themselves in the neighborhood of the Turkish, as well as of the Austrian provinces, now received open assistance from the Turks. The Russian arms were fully occupied in the Turkish war; a Russian fleet entered the Mediterranean; the agents of the Court of Petersburg excited a revolt among the Greeks, whom they afterwards treacherously and cruelly abandoned to the vengeance of their Turkish tyrants. These events suspended the fate of Poland. French officers of distinguished merit and gallantry guided the valor of the undisciplined Confederates, Austria seemed to countenance, if not openly to support them. Supplies and reinforcement from France passed openly through Vienna into Poland; and Maria Theresa herself



Przemysl Railroad and Mickiewicz Streets, (Ulice Kolejowa i Mickiewicza.)

projects which threatened to deprive France of her accustomed and due influence in the north and east of Europe. He was incensed at Catharine for not resuming the alliance with Austria, and the war which had been abruptly suspended by the caprice of her unfortunate husband; and she, on the other hand, as soon as she was seated on the throne, had formed one of those vast and apparently chimerical plans to which absolute power and immense territory have familiarized the minds of Russian sovereigns. She labored to counteract the influence of France, which she considered as the chief obstacle to her ambition, on all the frontiers of her empire, in Sweden, Poland and Turkey, by the formation of the great alliance of the North, to consist of England, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark and Poland, Russia being of course the head of the league. Choiseul exerted himself in every quarter to defeat this project, or rather to be revenged on Catharine for attempts which were already defeated by their own extravagance and vastness. In Sweden, his plan for reducing the Russian influence was successfully resisted in

publicly declared, that there was no principle or honor in Poland but among the Confederates. But the Turkish war, which had raised up an important ally for the struggling Poles, was in the end destined to be the cause of their destruction.

The course of events had brought the Russian armies into the neighborhood of the Austrian dominions, and began to fill the Court of Vienna with apprehensions for the security of Hungary. Frederic had no desire that his ally should become stronger; while both the great powers of Germany were averse to the extension of the Russian territories at the expense of Turkey. Frederic was restrained from opposing it forcibly by his treaty with Catharine, who continued to be his sole ally; but Kaunitz, who ruled the councils at Vienna, still adhered to the French alliance, seconding the French negotiations at Constantinople. Even so late as the month of July, 1771, he entered into a secret treaty with Turkey, by which Austria bound herself to recover from Russia, by negotiation or by force, all the conquests made by the latter from the Porte. But

there is reason to think that Kaunitz, distrusting the power and the inclination of France, under the feeble government of Louis XV, and still less disposed to rely on the councils of Versailles, after the downfall of Choiseul in December, 1770, though he did not wish to dissolve the alliance, was desirous of loosening its ties, and became gradually disposed to adopt any expedient against the danger of Russian aggrandizement, which might relieve him from the necessity of engaging in a war, in which his chief confidence must necessarily have rested on so weak a stay as the French Government. Maria Theresa still entertained a riotous aversion for Frederic, whom she never forgave for robbing her of Silesia; and openly professed her abhorrence of the vices and crimes of Catharine, whom she never spoke of but in a tone of disgust, as "that woman". Her son Joseph, however, affected to admire, and, so far as he had power, to imitate the king of Prussia; and in spite of his mother's repugnance, found means to begin a personal intercourse with him. Their first interview occurred at Neiss, in Silesia, in August, 1769, where they entered into a secret engagement to prevent the Russians from retaining Moldavia and Wallachia. In September, 1770, a second took place at Neustadt, in Moravia, where the principal subject seems also to have been the means of staying the progress of Russian conquest, and where despatches were received from Constantinople, desiring the mediation of both Courts in the negotiations for peace. But these interviews, though lessening mutual jealousies, do not appear to have directly influenced their system respecting Poland. The mediation, however, then solicited ultimately gave rise to that fatal proposition.

Frederic had proposed a plan for the pacification of reasonable terms being made with the Confederates, and of the Dissidents being induced to moderate their demands. Austria had assented to this plan, and was willing that Russia should make an honorable peace, but insisted on the restitution of Moldavia and Wallachia, and declared, that if her mediation were slighted, she must at length yield to the instances of France, and take an active part for Poland and Turkey. These declarations Frederic communicated to the Court of Petersburg; and they alone seem sufficient to demonstrate that no plan of partition was then contemplated by that monarch. To these communications Catharine answered, in a confidential letter to the king, by a plan of peace, in which she insisted on the independence of the Crimea, the acquisition of a Greek Island, and of a pretended independence for Moldavia and Wallachia, which should make her the mistress of these provinces. She spoke of Austria with great distrust and alienation; but, on the other hand, intimated her readiness to enter in to a closer intimacy with that Court, if it were possible to disengage her from her present absurd system, and to make her enter into their views; by which means Germany would be restored to her natural state, and the House of Austria would be diverted, by other prospects from those views on his Majesty's possessions, which her present connections kept up. This correspondence continued during January and February 1771, Frederic objecting, in very friendly language, to the Russian demands, and Catharine adhering to them. In January, Panin notified to the Court of Vienna his mistress's acceptance of the good offices of Austria towards the pacification, though she declined a formal mediation. This despatch is chiefly remarkable for a declaration, "that the Empress had adopted, as an invariable maxim, never to desire any aggrandizement of her state." When the

Empress communicated her plan of peace to Kaunitz in May, that minister declared that his Court could not propose conditions of peace, which must be attended with ruin to the Porte, and with great danger to the Austrian monarchy.

In the summer of the year 1770, Maria Theresa had caused her troops to take possession of the county of Zipps, a district anciently appertaining to Hungary, but which had been enjoyed by Poland for about 360 years, under a mortgage made by Zygmunt, king of Hungary, on the strange condition that if it was not redeemed by a fixed time, it could only be so by payment of as many times the originale sum as there had years elapsed since the appointed term. So unceremonious an adjudication to herself of this territory, in defiance of such an ancient possession, naturally produced a remonstrance even from the timid Stanislaw, which however, she coolly overruled. In the critical state of Poland, it was impossible that such a measure should not excite observation; and an occasion soon occurred, when it seems to have contributed to produce the most important effects.

Frederic embarrassed and alarmed by the difficulties of the pacification, resolved to send his brother Henry to Petersburg, with no other instructions, than to employ all his talents and address in bringing Catharine to such a temper as might preserve Prussia from a new war. Henry arrived in that capital on the 9th of December; and it seems now to be certain that the first open proposal of a dismemberment of Poland, arose in his conversations with the Empress, and appeared to be suggested by the difficulty of making peace on such terms as would be adequate to the successes of Russia without endangering the safety of her neighbors. It would be difficult to guess who first spoke out in a conversation about such a matter between two persons of great adroitness, and who were, doubtless, both equally anxious to throw the blame on each other. Unscrupulous as both were, they were not so utterly shameless that each party would not use the utmost address to bring the dishonest plan out of the mouth of the other. A look, a smile, a hint, or a question, were sufficiently intelligible. The best accounts agree, that in speaking of the entrance of the Austrian troops into Poland, and of a report that they had occupied the fortress of Czentokow, Catharine, smiling, and casting down her eyes, said to Henry: "It seems that in Poland you have only to stoop and take"; that he seized on the expression; and that she then, resuming an air of indifference, turned the conversation to other subjects. At another time, speaking of the subsidy which Frederic paid to her by treaty, she said, "I fear he will be weary of this burden, and will leave me. I wish I could secure him by some equivalent advantage." "Nothing", replied Henry, "will be more easy. You have only to give him some territory to which he has pretensions, and which will facilitate the communication between his dominions." Catharine without appearing to understand a remark, the meaning of which could not be mistaken, adroitly rejoined, "that she would willingly consent, if the balance of Europe was not disturbed; and that she wished for nothing." In a conversation with Baron Saldern on the terms of peace, Henry suggested that a plan must be contrived which would detach Austria from Turkey, and by which the three Powers would gain. "Very well," replied the former, "provided that it is not at the expense of Poland";—"as if," said Henry, afterwards, when he told the story, "there were any other country about which such plans could be formed." Catharine, in one of the

conferences in which she said to the Prince", "I will frighten Turkey and flatter England; it is your business to gain Austria, that she may lull France to sleep", became so eager, that she dipped her finger into ink, and drew with it the lines of partition on a map of Poland which lay before them. "The Empress", says Frederic, "indignant that any other troops than her own should give law to Poland, said to Prince Henry, that if the Court of Vienna wished to dismember Poland, the other neighbors had a right to do as much." Henry said that there were no other means of preventing a general war; "Pour prevenir ce malheur il n'y a qu'un moyen,—de mettre trois têtes dans un bonnet; et cela ne peut pas se faire qu'aux

depens d'un quart." It is hard to settle the order and time of these fragments of conversation, which in a more or less imperfect state, have found their way to the public. The probability seems to be, that Henry, who was not inferior in address, and who represented the weaker party, would avoid the first proposal in a case where, if it was rejected, the attempt might prove fatal to the objects of his mission. However that may be, it cannot be doubted that before he left Petersburg on the 30th of January, 1771, Catharine and he had agreed on the general outline to be proposed to his brother.

(To be continued.)



One Obstacle to the Development of a Polish State

By HENRYK K. SETMAYER

EVERY one who is familiar with Polish history knows how hospitably the Poles received the Jews, at a time when they were persecuted in the rest of Europe.

It is common knowledge that for centuries the Jews in Poland had flourished safely under the cover of just laws, gradually monopolizing all forms of industry which gave them the basis of their present financial power.

Those are well known facts. It has been thus for centuries, and it would appear that the Jews having found an hospitable refuge on the Polish soil, would in time, despite religious difference, become true sons of Poland, in that manner repaying their debt of gratitude to Poland.

Although the unfortunate partition of Poland had shown palpably that the Jews do not feel grateful toward Poland for past favors, as they had once become the most loyal citizens of the partitioning powers, still a few decades ago there was a persistent belief in the assimilation of the Jew.

It was generally believed that individuals amongst the Jews, who distinguished themselves among the masses, influenced by Polish culture, would easily be assimilated, adopting the Polish language and customs and manners, Polish ideals and aspirations.

But only the recent national movement among the Jews, the so called Zionistic movement, has shown how deceptive has been the faith in Jewish assimilation. It has shown that the Jewish masses are altogether hostile to the Polish nationality. The Zionists have instituted a widespread propaganda in the jargon newspapers and some Hebrew periodicals, a journalistic activity which has taken a hostile stand with regard to the Polish community. Among the many jargon and Hebrew newspapers appearing in Poland you cannot find a single one favorably disposed toward the Polish question.

It has appeared that also in the intelligent Jewish spheres, which have accepted the Polish tongue and customs, only a few examples are found of those who have been imbued with true Polish ideals.

The biggest optimist has been therefore convinced that the Jew in Poland is at best a foreign element which shall never enter in the composition of the Polish national organism.

And in consequence, the Jews have more and more boldly been raising their voice to the effect that Poland is as much their fatherland as it is the Poles'. To justify this statement they have resorted to a known cosmo-

politan doctrine,—that man has a right to the land where he lives, that as a result there is no territorial distinction, there are no fatherlands, and to the Polish soil in particular the Jews have as much right as the Poles.

Such a presentation of the subject is most dangerous, naturally, to the vital interests of Poland.

In our hard condition, amid the numerous reverses and failures that figure in our national life, one fact can be confirmed: namely, that on the extensive territory of Russian Poland and Galicia the Polish people live in close ranks, unmixed with other nations and strenuously refusing to become denationalized. The Poles on that territory form an exclusive people, such as the French in France. From that fact follows the right of the Polish people to an independent existence and to self-rule. Those Jews are scarce who would consider themselves at one with the Poles in their ideals and aspirations. The Poles have thus been compelled to recognize that beside their former foes they have in their midst another powerful enemy threatening their very existence.

This new enemy is powerful and is not to be disregarded. The Jews in Poland constitute an important percentage of the population and their influence permeates all strata of society. Numerically their power increases with each year, and especially in the provinces forming what is known as Russian Poland, where they constitute almost 15 percent of the population. Warsaw, which in 1906 had 34 percent of Jewish population, at present has already 40 percent, and at that rate in the near future the majority of the population in Warsaw will be Jewish. The Jews all flock to the big cities, a fact which you can observe here in America; for example, New York has a large Jewish population.

This state of affairs naturally enough has filled all thinking Poles with fear and anxiety for the future of their countrymen and has stimulated them to resort to measures, honorable to be sure, to meet the crisis in the most effective way.

In those circles of the Polish communities, in Russian Poland and Galicia, which have been ever most alive to their national interests, under the fear of impending danger, attention has been drawn to a striking phenomenon in Posen, that is German Poland, where conditions are almost diametrically opposed to those found in the former provinces.

For according to statistics, in 1875 the Jews in Russian Poland and Galicia as well as in Posen formed about

seven and a half percent of the entire population; within 100 years the percentage in Russian Poland and Galicia has increased almost doubly, whereas in the Duchy of Posen it has decreased in that length of time almost five-fold.

Considering more deeply the reasons why that is the case, that the one and the same race in one province has decreased and in another has increased, the Poles have at last understood that the underlying cause for this phenomenon is the economic awakening, the powerful expansion of business, of commerce and trade, as well as the spread of co-operative stores in the Polish provinces, the people in which faithfully adhere to the *swój do swego*, (Countryman to Countryman) policy to protect their vital interests.

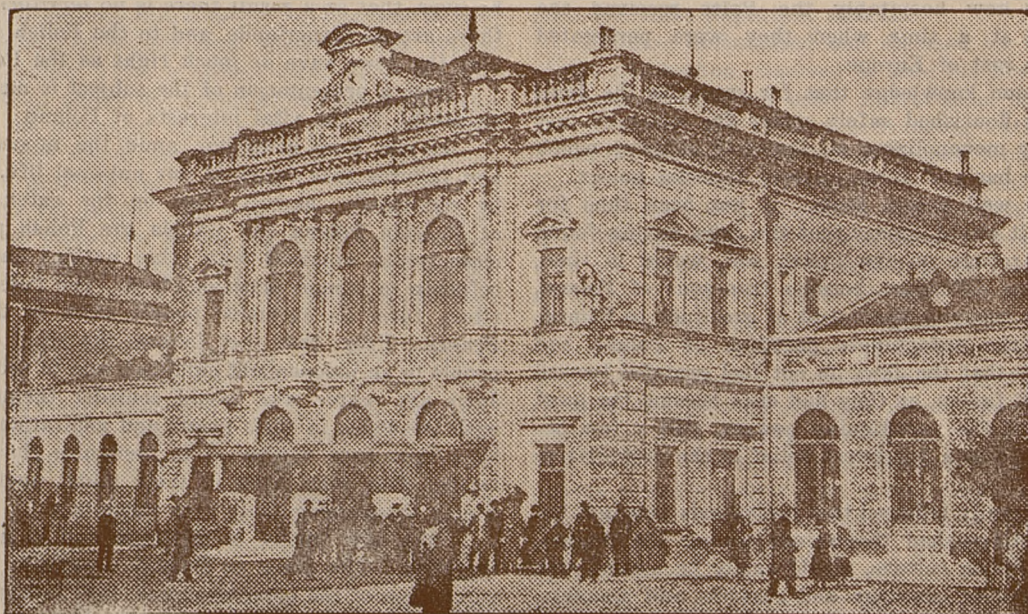
Therefore, a nervous propaganda has been started to rectify the evil.

Solid Polish organizations, proclaiming ever and everywhere the slogan Countryman to Countryman and the following out of the motto in practical life, these are the most important phases of the Polish life of the last several decades. A network of farming associations, profit

No one can forbid Brandes, who has been bitterly attacked for his apostasy by the Jewish Orthodox Church to speak in defense of his own blood; but one would demand from him an impartial review of the conditions obtaining in Poland, the Poland which he formerly loved with such sincere ardor.

Georg Brandes should rather look into the mysteries of the Jewish soul, of the Talmud, of which one of the famous Talmudists, Samson Hirsch, said that "Talmud is the only source, from which Judaism has emerged, the ground upon which Judaism exists, and the nutriment which moulds and upholds Judaism!"—and there he will find such a terrible picture of the Jewish soul that his hair will stand on end.

One of our most famous publicists, Andrew Niemojewski, a name which is well known to Brandes, one of the best known Talmudists in Poland and perhaps in the whole world, in his book entitled "The Jewish Soul in the Light of the Talmud", says: "Polish idealism, imprinting upon everything its stamp of goodness, has created out of the Jew an imaginary figure, as Jankiel, from Pan Tadeusz, or *Srul z Lubartowa*, (a novelette by Szymanski).



Przemyśl. The Railway Station (Dworzec Kolejowy)

sharing societies, which have covered the entire Russian Poland,—that is the result of an honorable and justifiable self-defense, to which the entire Polish community in the face of all-devouring Jewish aggressiveness, must have resorted to.

On the other hand, the Jewish community, seeing itself threatened in its most vital interests, at first would not believe the movement of self-defense would be successful, but having finally recognized the consequent awakening, it has at last exploded with all the vehemence of racial hatred toward us.

And that is the ground upon which the slanders and calumnies in the Jewish press or in that dominated by the Jews have been built. Hence the imaginary description of pogroms which aim to discredit us in the eyes of the world.

And it is particularly to be regretted that to this nefarious work certain individuals, who hate the "goy" and look upon him as a puny mortal created into this world to be shorn by them, have succeeded in using one of the noblest of men—Georg Brandes!

The Polish school of criticism, fighting this false idealism, set against it its direct observation from life which presented the Jews in an entirely different light. Polish critics, not guided by any idealism, or pessimism, have reached to the sources and studied the material collected by the Jews which show how the Jews have characterized themselves in their sacred books. The study has revealed for our benefit the terrible abyss of the Jewish soul, about which the most ardent anti-Semitism had only a pale idea. The Jewish soul, still possessed of all the qualities of the nomad-parasite, distinguished by the arrogance of the barbarian, departs from its Ghetto to plunder the world, under the protection of its tribal God. Woe to the nation which finds itself in the path of the procession of Israel."

"It is a prehistoric soul, which has wandered to our times on account of special conditions. In the course of two thousand years it has given nothing to the world, although it always has engaged its attention. It has given nothing, for every Jew, who has rendered himself famous, has owed it to the Aryan anthropological mould which has

detached him from the Jewish stock and made out of him a man. The Jewish soul is the soul of a primitive man, which settles like a parasite on every one of us. He is actuated by two sentiments at the same time concurring into the feeling of boundless hatred toward us,—the feeling of desire toward us, and that of fear of us; desire, because he lives from us; of fear, because he dreads that any time we may awake and drive him away. When he was weak he pretended love. When he felt strong, he became wrathfully arrogant. And when it dawned upon him that he miscalculated, he began to rave like a mad man. And he was most scared by our calm and determined striving for our goal. He rejoiced when we saw in him a comical figure; he became stupefied and paled, when we perceived in him a dreadful figure; he boasted of his Talmud, but was stunned when he found that we could study the Talmud ourselves; he well knew that it is a faithful mirror of his soul and his feelings toward us. He feared to have the Jewish soul confronted with the Talmud. We have done it and he feels that something inexorable will happen and change. And a change shall come to pass."

The above is written by a man who himself for a long time belonged to the so called "free thinkers", greatly influenced by Jewish free thinkers, or rather rationalistic poseurs; therefore Niemojewski is no chauvinist or reactionary.

We do not know if Brandes can read Hebrew, but let him rather direct his attention to the Jewish soul, and perhaps he will succeed in rendering it less parasitic and in ennobling and leading it to higher ideals.

Perhaps the soul to which the word "Fatherland"

hitherto has been unknown, will desire under the influence of such eminent leadership to realize the lofty ideal as pointed out by true Zionism, and that is the rebuilding of the ancient kingdom of Palestine. The present times are best adapted to this. The present historical cataclysm will change the map of Europe, and call into life nations that hitherto have been deprived of independent existences. Why should not the scattered children of Israel, the richest tribe in the world, aspire after rebuilding the ancient kingdom? Only a powerful initiative is required, in order to awaken these homeless nomads to a national honor and the desire for unified collective action.

A grateful field of endeavor lies open before Brandes. Undoubtedly it would give him more fame and more inner satisfaction than allowing himself to be used by unscrupulous men as a tool for slandering innocent Poles.

We Poles who look upon the conception of Fatherland as upon something sacred, with joy will applaud this memorable act which will put the Jews in the rank of unified cultural nations, and which will remove one of the greatest obstacles to the development of a Polish state so strong in its national consciousness.

But before this will come about, if at all Mr. Brandes or some other eminent Jew will take upon himself this great task, we expect that Mr. Brandes admitting that he has been misled, will resort to an act of justice and will rectify in the name of justice and impartiality those slanderous attacks upon the Polish name.

We demand this in the name of justice as well as in the interest of Mr. Brandes, whose eminent name should never be associated with slander, calumny and vilification.



The Potent Voice of Public Opinion

POLAND, once the pride of Europe, once the defender and protector of Christianity and its civilization, has been stricken out from the last of European nations by the ruthless hand of grasping tyranny.

That nation to-day awakens feelings of respectful sympathy in all those who honor courage and patriotism.

Poland after more than a century of bitter persecution is again filled with desolation and ruin: her cities, villages and hamlets are devastated; her soil is saturated with the blood of her own sons; her valleys are strewn with the bodies of the slain; her forests are filled with widows and orphans without food and without adequate clothing while thousands are dying daily from hunger and cold.

No pen can describe the horrors of the demoniacal persecution to which Poland and her unhappy children are subjected. So! to what an extremity of misery and wretchedness has Poland been reduced!

It is simply impossible to describe the deplorable condition of the Poles in Russia, Germany and Austria. All communications have been destroyed by fire and sword. No calamity of such magnitude has ever befallen a nation. All the horrors of the Inquisitions, all the bigoted religious persecutions of the Middle Ages pale into insignificance when compared with these stupendous crimes and appalling atrocities.

Poland in her long record of history has never wronged or oppressed any people, never, has she ever at-

tempted to plunder from any people their sacred birth-right of liberty. Never has she refused upon the invitation of the Church or weaker nations to undo the chains and to strike them off the limbs of the oppressed. Never has she drawn that sword, which she has wielded for centuries, in an unjust or a doubtful cause, never has Poland's sword shed a drop of blood unjustly, but only in the defense of the highest, the holiest and the best of causes,—the Altar of God and the Altar of the nation.

For more than a century the Poles have groaned under the weight of oppression and tyranny which despotic governments have exercised over them. Often was the father's heart ready to break within his bosom, as he looked upon the son of his affection, and reflected on the wretchedness to which that son was born. Often has the tear of sorrow dimmed the mother's eye, as she looked abroad upon the misery that rested on her native land, and as she taught her child for the first time to lisp the name of Poland.

Poland though crushed to the earth by the iron despotism of Russia, Prussia and Austria, has been fruitful in new of genius, and has given to the world some of the greatest musicians, artists, litterateurs, scientists, generals, and an endless catalogue of names of surpassing greatness in all departments of human genius and human activity.

Poland's sons in foreign lands have frequently acquired imperishable fame. We read of them leading the Hungarians in their struggle for independence in 1848. We

read of Polish generals helping the Belgians in their war for independence. We find them with Napoleon in his struggles. We read of them taking active part in the insurrection of Sicily and again leading the Sardinian forces. In the Crimean War we read of corps of Polish volunteers in the British armies. During our own Revolutionary War our armies were led to battle and victory by the brave and patriotic Kosciuszko and Pulaski, the latter of whom fell mortally wounded in a battle at Savannah.—This is only a glimpse of the genius, the bravery of the oppressed and the liberty loving Poles.

To-day more than a million of Polish soldiers are fighting in the armies of their oppressors. The bone, sinew and blood of Poland is engaged in a work—an unhappy work—of slaughtering one another! Oh, how sad to think that the bravest soldiers that ever stood should thus be employed fighting for a cause of which they know nothing, and for Monarchs who care nothing for them!

To-day Poland needs our aid, for who else is there to sympathize and to aid the war-stricken Poles in Russia, Germany and Austria. Let us then do all that is in our power to render them such assistance as we find in our power for the amelioration of this deplorable condition.

What can America and the other civilized powers do to make Poland free and independent? We know what has been done in the past can be done again. We know that the voice of Christendom thundered against the unspeakable Turk, and Greece was free. We know America

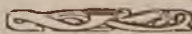
sympathized with Ireland's grievous wrongs and patriotic aspirations, and Home-Rule followed. We know that the Stars and Stripes in the fullness of time drove the yellow flag of Spain from the fairest Island in the Antilles, and Cuba Libre was the result.

In like manner, if Russia will not of her own free will and accord grant autonomy to Poland as a result of her promise, then the civilized Powers spurred to their duty by the potent voice of public opinion can force Russia to accede to our demand. We know that public sentiment once aroused rules the destiny of the world. In this twentieth century no power can long withstand the tremendous force of public sentiment, and no government will long endure arrayed against the settled opinion of mankind.

Hence, it remains to us Poles in America to be faithful to our constitution, to be practical, industrious, temperate, to be American in our ideals and sympathies and obedient to the laws of our adopted land; and the day will dawn, when with the moral support of America and with the blessing of God, out of the ashes of her ruined hopes and ambitions, from the sacrifices of her splendid patriotism, from the blood of her martyrs, a new Poland will burst forth and contend for a place among the free and independent governments of the earth.

JOS. F. ŁĄCZNIK,

St. Kenrick Seminary, St. Louis, Mo.



The Smith-Burnett Bill

THE NOTORIOUS Smith-Burnett bill is again in the Senate.

The bill is expected to limit the immigration from Europe.

There can be no question but what this bill was dictated by prejudice and a false conception of "what is the best for the country." This bill is furthermore an unjust reflection upon the character of the immigrants.

Among other nationalities coming to our shores there is a large number of Poles, a race, which is known not only because of its contribution to civilization and culture but also because of its reputation as an industrious, honest and liberty loving people.

The Poles are as a rule law abiding; statistics show that the Poles are of all other nationalities, the smallest contributors to the insane asylums; they very seldom become a charge to public charity or public institutions.

Now as to that "literacy test."

It is no crime for a man not to know how to write or read. IT IS A MISFORTUNE. This land of the free ought to give a helping hand to a man or woman of good character and habits, who has been denied this opportunity in his or her country.

The history of this land shows that its shores were always hospitable to those people who failed to receive a square deal in their own countries, and the Smith-Burnett bill framers should not be allowed to interfere with this tradition which honors this country so greatly.

I believe that America, the country of Washington and Lincoln, should continue to be the mother to those people who found a stepmother in their own country. America should continue her own mission as a "SANTA

CLAUS" to those, who were denied the rights and privileges of man in their own country.

The Polish immigrant is of very little trouble to the American authorities. Facts count more than words and talk of the high rate of criminality among the Poles is all twaddle. Statistics show that they do not contribute to the filling up of prisons and penitentiaries any more than people of any other nationality.

Furthermore, the illiterate Polish immigrant is from a certain point of view more desirable in this country, than the so called "educated" fellow. It is the illiterate that do the worst of menial work, it is also the illiterate of whom Mr. Smith-Burnett and other friends of this bill will find the least number in our jails.

The illiterate does very seldom know how to be a criminal. The great majority of our criminals know how to read and write.

ALL THE RASCALS KNOW HOW TO SPELL THEIR OWN NAMES.

We do not know the pedigree of Mr. Dillingham, the original framer of the bill. Perhaps the first ancestor of his family who thought that America was a more desirable dwelling-place than his country, was himself an illiterate. Still, we believe that Mr. Dillingham's ancestor was a worthy person, who knew how to mind his own business and transmit to future generations upright, conscientious and intelligent children.

For obvious reason I consider the bill to be a foolish one, dictated by unfounded prejudice of race. The framers of this bill ought to be more drastic in preventing ex-convicts from reaching the shores of this country.

LUDWIK LEŚNICKI.

From the Memoirs of a Teacher

By HENRYK SIENKIEWICZ

(Translated By Casimir Gonski.)



HE light of the lamp, although shaded, woke me; and often, at the second or third hour after midnight I saw Michas,* still studying. His slender little figure clad only in a light-robe, was stooped over the books and in the stillness of the night a tired, sleepy voice repeated mechanically Latin or Greek conjugations, as monotonously as a litany is said in church. When I called to him to go to sleep, the boy answered me: "I don't know my lesson yet, Mr. Vevryk." And yet, I worked with him over his lessons from four till eight and then from nine till twelve. I did not retire till I had convinced myself that he knew them all; but it was altogether too much. Finishing the last lesson the boy had forgotten the first one, and Latin, Greek, German conjugations and the names of the various provinces had created such a chaos in his poor little head, that he could not sleep. Then he clambered out of his bed, lit the lamp and began to study again. If I scolded, he begged and cried. In course of time I became so accustomed to these nocturnal studies, the dim light of the lamp and the murmuring of the conjugations, that if I missed them, sleep left me. Perhaps I should not have allowed it, that the child over-studied too much, but what could I do? He had to know his lessons fairly well, otherwise he would have been dismissed from school, and God knows what a blow this would have been to his mother, who remaining with two children after her husband's death, had built all her hopes on Michas. The situation offered almost no outlet, for, on the other hand, I saw, that the excessive mental exertion undermined the boy's health and might even threaten his life. At least he should have been physically strengthened by gymnastic exercises, walking and riding. But there was no time for that. The child has so much to do, so much to learn by memory, so much to write, that I can conscientiously say:—there was no time. Every moment necessary for recreation, health and life of the boy, was taken up by Latin, Greek or German. In the morning when I helped him to put his books in the knapsack and when I saw how his weak shoulders bent under the weight of those byzantine volumes, my heart cramped with pain. Sometimes I interceded on his behalf and asked that some allowance be made for him. But the German professors merely answered that I spoil Michas, that he does not study enough and that he cries on every occasion. I myself am not a well man, my lungs are weak, I am lonesome, morose and those explanations of the professors have embittered many an hour for me. I know best, whether Michas did not study enough: He was a boy of mediocre ability, but so energetic, and with his sweetness of disposition, he was possessed of such will power as I have never found in another child. Poor Michas was most devotedly attached to his mother, and having been told that she is very unhappy and sickly, and that if he did not study well, she might die or grief,—the poor boy trembled at the thought and spent nights over his books lest he displease his mother.

He burst out crying when he received a poor mark,

but no one knew why his tears were flowing, what a terrible responsibility the poor boy left. Who cared? I did neither spoil nor effeminate him, only I understood him better than others; and if instead of scolding him for his poor progress, I cheered and consoled him,—that is my own concern. I myself have worked hard in my life, suffered hunger and endured poverty. I was never happy, never will be happy—the devil take it all, I even don't clench my teeth any more when I think that it's hardly worth while living,—but perhaps for this very reason I feel sincere sympathy for others' misery. When I was a boy of Michas' age, when I chased the pigeons on the street and played marbles around the town hall, I had my times of health and happiness. The cough did not bother me then; when I got a beating, I cried as long as they beat me, otherwise I was as happy as a bird and cared for nothing. But Michas did not have even that much. Life would have put him, too, on the anvil and beaten him with a hammer. But that much he would have gained at least, if he had laughed as heartily as a child at things that amuse other children, played tricks like other children and run around in the open air and sunshine. However, such harmony of a childhood I did not have before my eyes. On the contrary, I saw a sad child going to school and sadly returning from it, stooped under the burden of books, exhausted, wrinkles in the corners of his eyes which seemed always to suppress a flood of tears—and I pitied him and wanted to console and befriend him.

I am a private teacher; I don't know what I should do in this world, if I should loose faith in the value of education and the advantages that springs from it. But I do think that study should not be a tragedy for children, that Latin should not take place of fresh air and health, and that a good or poor accent in a foreign language should not decide of fate and life of the little ones.

I also think, that pedagogy fulfills her mission better, if she takes the child by the hand and leads him gently, instead of crushing the little breast and stamping under heel everything that at home the child was thought to love and revere. (The author here refers to the efforts of the German Government to eradicate the Polish language from the curriculum of the Gymnasium.) I am such a pessimist, that I am not likely to change my opinion in this respect and I am becoming confirmed in this opinion more and more when I think of Michas whom I have loved so dearly. For six years I have been his teacher,—first as governor then at school as his co-repetitioner; thus I had time to become attached to him. But why should I conceal it before myself: he was the son of one who to me is dearest above everything in the world. She has never known it and never shall. I remember that I am merely Mr. Vavryk, a private teacher and a sick man and she is the daughter of a wealthy, noble family, a lady to whom I would not dare to lift my eyes. But the lonesome heart drifting upon life's waves must finally cling to something, as clings the clam tossed by the ocean's waves and my heart attached itself to her. What can I do? After all, it does no harm to her. I ask of her no more than of the sun which in the spring warms my

* Diminutive for Michael,—little Michael.

weak breast. For six years I have been in her house; I was at the death of her husband, I have seen her unhappy, alone, but always as good as an angel, loving her children, almost holy in her widowhood, and——it could not be otherwise. But this is not love, it is my religion.

Michas was a living reminder of his mother. Often, when he lifted his eyes at me, I thought I saw his mother. The same delicate features, the same forehead shaded by abundant hair, the same delicate curve of the eyebrows and especially the voice, almost the very same. In the disposition of mother and child there was also close communion, manifesting itself in the same inclination towards exalted sentiments and views. They both belonged to that category of nervous beings, impressive, noble, loving, who

der, then, that Lady Mary not only loved him as her child, but also as all her hopes for the future. Unfortunately with the blindness characteristic of mothers, she saw in him unusual abilities. Actually, the boy was not stupid, but he was one of those children whose mediocre abilities develop later with health and physical progress. Under other circumstances he would have finished the schools and the university and become a useful worker in any field. But under the circumstances as they existed, he was torturing himself, knowing his mother's high opinion of his talents, he overtaxed them.

My eyes have seen many things in this world and I have resolved not to wonder at anything. But I must confess, I could hardly make myself believe that such a perversion of natural order could exist: the boy did not



Przemyśl: The Cathedral and general View of the City (Katedra i widok ogólny.)

are capable of the greatest self-sacrifice, but who in the contact with life and its realities find little happiness, giving in advance much more, than ever is returned to them. That class of people is becoming extinct now, and I think that some naturalist of to-day could say of them, that from the beginning they are doomed to destruction, for they are born with a weakness of the heart—they love too much.

Michas' parents had once been very wealthy, but they loved too much,—and several storms have destroyed the fortune; that, what remains is not misery, not even poverty, but in comparison with former times it is mediocrity. Michas was the last of the house; small won-

profit by his perseverance, will-power and work. There was something abnormal in that and if word could recompense me for my sorrow and bitterness, I would say with Hamlet, that in this world happen things of which the philosophers have never dreamt.

I worked with Michas as if my own future depended on the marks he received for his progress. Did we not have the same aim? To keep sorrow from her, to show her a good testimonial, to evoke a smile from her lips. If he succeeded in obtaining a good mark he came from school beaming with happiness. It seemed to me that on such occasion his stooped figure fairly grew, his usually clouded eyes laughed with true childish happiness and

gleamed like live coal. He threw off the knapsack from his narrow shoulders and still standing in the door, winking at me, would say:—

"Mr. Vavryk, mama will be satisfied! To-day I got in geography—guess how much?"

And when I pretended that I could not guess, he would come to me with an important mien, throw his arms around my neck and speak into my ear, but very loud:

"A five, truly, a five!"

Those were happy moments for both of us. In the evening of such days Michas imagined and calculated

I, instead of checking his imaginary light, followed it and saw the house at Zalesina, its dignity, quietude, the high, noble person who was its mistress and the happiness which the return of her boy with his excellent testimonial would cause her.

I took advantage of such moments and impressed on Michas that while his mother cared much for his studies, she was a great deal more concerned about his health. That he should not cry when I took him out for a walk, should sleep as much as I told him and should not insist on his nocturnal studies.



The Tower of the Cathedral of St. Stanislaus, Cracow, which, after the Fall of Przemysl, is the Next Objective Point of the Russian Army—In this Church, which forms part of the Citadel of Cracow, are buried John Sobieski, Joseph Poniatowski, Kosciuszko, and other Polish Heroes.

what would happen if he would receive the highest mark in all branches. Then he murmured half to himself and half to me:

"Christmas we will go to Zalesina; snow will be falling as always in the winter, and we will go in the sleigh. We will arrive at night, and oh! mama will be expecting me, she will press me to her heart, she will kiss me and then she will ask for my testimonial. I will make a sad face, purposely, and there she will be reading: "Religion—excellent. German—excellent. Latin—excellent. Everything excellent! Oh, my dear Mr. Vavryk!"

And tears would come to the dear boy's eyes, and,

"Very well, my dear sir, I shall be awfully healthy, and I will grow so much, that mama and little Lola will not recognize me." From Lady Mary I often received letters commending to my care the health of her boy, but I saw with dread, that it was impossible to reconcile study with health. If only the topics of study had been too difficult, it should be easily remedied by taking Michas to a lower grade. But it was not the difficulty of the studies, which Michas comprehended quite well, but it was the time and the unfortunate German language, which Michas could not enunciate well. This, of course, I could not help, but I hoped that the coming holidays would replenish his stock of health, exhausted by overmuch work.

If Michas had been an indifferent boy, I should have cared less, but failure oppressed him more than success cheered him, and the happy moments when "fives" were brought home were, unfortunately, infrequent.

Then I learned how to read in his face at the first glance whether he had succeeded.

"Got a poor mark?" I asked.

"Yes."

"Didn't know the lesson?"

Sometimes he answered:

"I did not," but more frequently: "I knew the lesson, but I could not speak out."

Little Owicki, the primus of Michas' class, with whom I had arranged to study with Michas, told me, that Michas received his poor marks mainly for the reason that he could not enunciate in German.

The poor lad left more and more exhausted, physically and mentally, and the low marks increased in proportion. I noticed that when he had stopped crying he became very quiet and resigned, but in that intense energy with which he sat down again to his lesson, there was something desperate and feverish. Sometimes he sat down in a corner, pressed his head between his hands and stared vacantly; the poor, noble fellow imagined that he was

digging a grave for his mother, not knowing how he could avert the disaster and he left himself drawn irresistibly into a turmoil with no hope for salvation.

His night sittings became more and more frequent. Fearing that I might wake and bid him go to bed, he rose very carefully in the dark, took the lamp out in the other room, lit it there and sat down to study. Before I discovered his doings he had spent there several nights in an unheated room. There was nothing left to do, but to rise take him in our room and go over the whole lesson again, to convince him that he knew it and uselessly exposed himself to the danger of taking cold. But soon he himself could not tell whether he knew the lesson or not. The boy had lost energy; he was emaciated, his complexion sallow and his intellect lull. At times something occurred which convinced me that it was not the work alone, which exhausted his strength. Once, when in our study of Polish history, to which we devoted daily some time at the special request of Lady Mary, we came to a particularly brilliant period, Michas startled me by jumping up with sparkling eyes and with an expression inquisitive and severe asked:

"Sir, is that not a fairy tale? because——"

(To be continued)

Once Proud Poland, Where Millions Starve Today!



Poland is the eastern theater of the war. Approximately 100,000 square miles in Russian Poland, Austrian Poland and German Poland have been devastated, leaving nearly 12,000,000 of the 25,000,000 Poles without food, shelter or clothing.

The small shaded section on the map shows the devastated area in Belgium and France. The larger shaded portion shows the devastated section in Poland, which is ten times greater.

The heavy dark line shows the area of once proud Poland when she was a kingdom and had her place among the great European powers. At that time the area of the kingdom of Poland was 282,000 square miles, or as large as Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin and Kentucky.

Today there is no Poland, the country having been conquered by three nations and robbed of its identity, its liberties and almost of the rights of its people for existence. It is in this shaded portion of 100,000 square miles that the greatest carnage of the war is taking place and where by far the greatest suffering on the part of the innocent is being borne.

The Polish Question in the American Press

Harrisburg Star-Independent: — Bad as conditions are reported to be in Belgium, the assertion is made by several Polish refugees who have recently arrived in this country that there is now even more misery in Poland. The men were overjoyed, it is said, when they learned that a Polish relief committee was at work raising funds for the benefit of non-combatants in the unfortunate land.

That Poland is in urgent need of assistance is self-evident. The Russian, German and Austrian armies have been sweeping through its fields and have in most cases left devastation behind them so that opposing armies might not be able to get support from the once productive soil. The natives are driven to and from by these armies, getting food in they can and starving if they cannot.

According to the Polish refugees a countryside of 12,000 square miles has been laid waste by the armies and thousands of poor people have perished, not only by starvation but also by diseases which are gaining headway rapidly.

The Polish provinces of Russia, Germany and Austria have unluckily been dependent upon these nations for aid. These countries, however, have more pressing business to attend to at present than that of relieving suffering among Poles,—Poles who have been too decidedly a liberty-loving people anyway ever to have exhibited much loyalty toward the countries which have annexed them.

It is only natural that Polish refugees should look expectantly for help to America, the country which is so nobly responding to the calls for relief from Belgium and which is not deaf to urgent cries from other quarters where war has been making misery among men, women and children guiltless of any participation in the actual fighting.

Buffalo, N. Y., Courier:—Investigators for the American Red Cross have returned to Berlin from a survey of the part of Russian Poland in the battle track, and report conditions of indescribable misery among the inhabitants of that war-swept area. Similar statements, respecting a greater amount of territory, are contained in an appeal made public at London by the famous musician. Ignace Paderewski, and the equally illustrious Polish novelist, Henry Sienkiewicz. There is no question of the verity of these reports, no question that the situation of millions of non-combatants is the most terrible and pitiable modern Europe has known.

The suffering of the Belgians appealed to humanity and from America received a quick sympathetic response. The assistance sent from the United States has saved multitudes from starvation. The wretchedness to which the people of Russian Poland and Galicia are reduced is asserted to be even deeper, and without aid untold numbers seem destined to perish from hunger and exposure. Homes have been destroyed, supplies confiscated, even warm clothing seized for military use; fugitives from the little farms and from the ruined cities and towns wander in the bitterness of the season, seeking shelter in caves and literally contending with wolves for existence in the snow-covered land. Hard are the winter conditions the soldiers encounter; far more grievous is the lot of the non-combatants—the old men and the women and children.

Poland's cry should reach directly to the heart of America—it is from the kindred of scores of thousands who have become American citizens. The Polish organizations are energetically devising relief measures. Every class of our people knowing charity and pity should be desirous to aid them. Difficulty besets the forwarding of supplies, but this can be overcome. No finer work of benevolence is conceivable than assistance of the Polish sufferers in this frightful time of their dire need.

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